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DE S.M.I. LE SHAHINSHAH ARYAMEHR

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TROISIÈME SÉRIE

TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES



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TROISIÈME SÉRIE  
VOLUME I

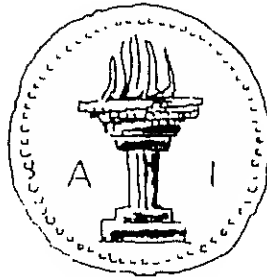
TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES

VOLUME I

THE GĀTHĀS OF  
ZARATHUSTRA

by

S. INSLER



1975

DIFFUSION  
E. J. BRILL  
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ÉDITION  
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For

Paul Thieme

*vidvā hṛs hucistiścū      yā mā mṛṭranqm paṭhō sīṣaṭ  
yascā mōi aśā daxṣaṭ      yaṭhā vohū urvājē manaijhā  
tqm paourvyqm hugarābqm      aēśqm vahiṣtanqm sravaihqm  
ahyā vahniāi stūtaēcā      ā tām yaṭhānām vaēdayāmahī*



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## INTRODUCTION

Because of their relative brevity and the almost total lack of other earlier or contemporary works of Old Iranian literature, the Gāthās of Zarathustra are truly a text bound with seven seals. Much of the grammar, the vocabulary and the syntax encountered in these lyrics remains unique in relationship to the language appearing in the later texts assembled in the Avesta. Likewise, the prophet's hymns are laden with ambiguities resulting both from the merger of many grammatical endings and from the intentionally compact and often elliptical style which characterizes his poetic art. The higher level question of the interpretation of the Gāthās' content, frequently expressed in metaphorical and allegorical terms, is even more problematic. The noted literary isolation of the text within the ancient period has excluded the possibility of fixing a true position to the prophet's theology within the preceding developments of Iranian religion. Similarly, there exist no early analytical commentaries of the Zoroastrian tradition, written in the wake of Zarathustra's influence, which could present in detail the meaning of his message to the community of his adherents. And finally, the mechanical arrangement of the Gāthās within the Avesta according to their metrical schemes has effaced all certain chances of even following the prophet's intellectual evolution within his own fragmentary works. Thus, to anyone struggling with these lyrics, the Gāthās truly appear to be a book of riddles.

But like all riddles, the problems encountered within the Gāthās beg to be solved, and many have been solved. Most of the grammatical forms have been puzzled out through the help of the related Indian R̥gveda, which has also provided the source for establishing much of the fundamental vocabulary of Zarathustra's lyrics. This literary monument of India has likewise revealed a number of stylistic figures and syntactical conventions which have aided in the interpretation of various passages in the prophet's hymns. And the R̥gveda has moreover furnished a textual counterpart against which the dominant themes of Zarathustra's teachings can be compared and judged. Other progress in understanding this ancient Avestan text has been achieved, primarily through the efforts of Humbach, by the careful internal analysis of recurrent literary devices and repeated expressions within the

language of the Gāthās. For, besides establishing without doubt the unity of composition of these lyric poems, this type of philological study has been extremely helpful in revealing several basic techniques of the syntactic and expressive organization of the prophet's words.

Yet many riddles still persist which prevent us from grasping unequivocally the meaning of Zarathustra's poetry. The transmitted text of the Gāthās has suffered profound corruption in a few important passages which escape assured reconstruction. Furthermore, various items of the vocabulary of these lyrics remain unknown; others, particularly those which appear to have connections with the Rigvedic vocabulary, continue to be a source of dispute owing to the possibility of either a difference in meaning between cognate words or a false basis of comparison. But overshadowing all the difficulties inherent in properly understanding the Gāthās is the problem of disentangling the intricacies of their syntax. Because, as long as little certainty exists in the establishment of definite rules for interpreting the various possibilities of syntactic coordination within the special eloquence of Zarathustra's poetry, there can be no assurance that the translation of a given passage approaches the intentions originally formulated by the prophet. When this lack of certitude exists for the greater number of verses within the limited corpus of the Gāthās, then we are faced with the realization that much of our knowledge of these poems is highly doubtful.

This present work results from the attempt to offer some solutions to the persistent problems of the text, the grammar, the vocabulary and, especially, the syntax of the Gāthās, which can better aid our understanding of the prophet's words on several levels. In this regard I have followed the main philological principles which have been described above: analysis and explanation through comparative and internal material. For the abundant data of the Rigveda not only provides a means of access to the problems of Gāthic philology, but equally offers a well tried touchstone against which one can test new suggestions concerning the interpretation of the Iranian evidence. Equally, the remarkable unity of composition and content of the Gāthās allows us to search within the framework of that text itself for evidence of parallel or equivalent formulations. For Zarathustra is a man haunted by a vision, which has pursued him relentlessly throughout his life, and his poetry is in as many ways the autobiography of an idea as much as it is the self-portrait of the prophet.

In this last regard, it is precisely the recognition of this obsessive

determination lying behind the formulations of these lyrics which obliges us in turn to seek a coherent and uniform interpretation of their teachings. For where doubt and hesitation exist in the understanding of the Gāthās, they exist only for us. For Zarathustra, who composed these exalted poems with all the craft of his admirable poetic art, the compelling character of his message was undoubtedly clear, and he surely labored with great pains to express his thoughts in a fashion ultimately comprehensible to those who cared to listen to him. And for us, too, the approach to these lyrics must be the same: an effort founded upon the careful labor and examination into the composition of the prophet's poetry to reveal its underlying unity of thought and language. There can be only one correct interpretation of each line for us as there was for the man who first formulated them.

#### THE TEXT

I have followed in general the text of the Gāthās given by Humbach (1959, I), since he has proposed a few helpful improvements to the readings, while adopting the many variants favored by Bartholomae (1904) which are more in keeping with the regular orthographic practices of the Mss. than those presented in the standard text in Geldner's edition (1896). Where I have differed from his text with regard to a critical reading, I have indicated in the notes to each Gāthā the Ms. source(s) which I have followed, and I have explained in the commentary to the pertinent passages the reasons for preferring the selected variants. A similar approach has been chosen with respect to the emendations which I have accepted from previous studies of the Gāthās and which I myself have conjectured. These emendations are noted in the apparatus at the end of each Gāthā and are further discussed in the commentary. No attempt, however, has been made to correct all the instances of false vowel length or to restore all underlying forms masked by orthographic conventions. Only those forms which contribute a substantial change to the understanding of a passage are included in the notes. There the term 'read' indicates an emendation, the term 'for' signifies that orthographic principles have prevented writing a word in its historically correct form.

Unlike Humbach, however, I find the text reconstructible from the surviving Mss. an often imperfect and inadequate representation of the earlier form of the Gāthās, and I therefore have sought to establish

some procedure which would permit the possibility to explain the appearance of clearly incorrect forms in the standard text as well as the means to justify other necessary emendations. Such a procedure, to my mind, must be both restrictive and predictable in its application. For as Humbach rightly argues (1959, 1 28ff.), the chief fault with Andreas' theory of false vocalizations of an earlier unpointed text lies in its inability to explain why the most archaic forms of the Gāthās, such as *sraotā* 30.2, 45.1, *dabanaotā* 32.5, have escaped alteration and why so much of the surviving form of the text in general conforms to our linguistic expectations. This is certainly not to be awaited if a new recension of the text has been produced independent of an unbroken tradition, a premise which is at the basis of Andreas' approach to text criticism. To evoke an extraordinary mechanism only to aid in limited instances betrays at once its general ineffectiveness and ultimate misconception.

For my own part, I have tried to develop a procedure of text criticism, utilizing the existing materials, based upon the observation and subsequent categorization of the variants appearing in the extant Mss. For the characteristic tendencies of the variations observed in such late Mss. as we possess must certainly be an accurate index to similar types of variations which existed in earlier forms of the Mss. And in the case of the Gāthās, the back projection of such characteristic mistakes and their consequent application as a mechanism of text criticism for the reconstructed text is particularly effective, since all our surviving Mss. clearly repose on a single archetype whose date can be no more remote than some 300 or 400 years before the oldest extant Ms. (cf. Geldner's comments 1896, xxxiii ff.).

Evidence for the existence of a unique archetype is readily drawn from the following facts. All surviving Mss., apart from very few added glosses, omissions, abbreviations and the expected orthographic variation, offer essentially the same underlying text of the Gāthās. Furthermore, this reconstructible text as found in the Mss. reveals intrusions of common glosses throughout the hymns which destroy the proper, awaited meter, be they the hypermetric repetitions of preverbs or the unconscious doubling of small words such as *cā*; and conversely, instances in common where the meter is clearly defective for obvious reasons. Similarly, the Mss. underlying the reconstructed text exhibit the same heavy hand of redactional interference in exactly the same passages, be it the question of the inconsistently applied repetition of preverbs or the introduction of compromise forms, such



as *yāngstū* 46.14, *vāstā* 46.17, or the redactional absurdities *gāuš.āiš* 30.2 and *gāuš.ā* 51.3 for *\*gaošāiš* and *\*gaošā*, *θwōi ahī* 34.11 for *\*θwōyahī* (*\*θwayahī*), etc. Finally, all the Mss. indicate the identical readings in those passages where the text can be clearly shown to be incorrect in its reconstructed form. That there exists such thoroughgoing uniformity in the Ms. readings with regard to these issues just mentioned attests, to my mind, the descent of the extant Mss. from a single archetype, for it is otherwise impossible to envision any other genealogy which could impart the mark of such curious consistency to the text of the Gāthās appearing in the surviving Mss.

Acknowledging this unique origin of the Mss., it therefore becomes quite reasonable to apply to the reconstructed text of the Gāthās the methods of a text criticism based on the observation of the different categories of variation encountered in these extant Mss. For it is our full expectation that those signs which clearly distinguish the offspring must have also characterized their parent. With this view in mind, I present here the various types of variation observable in the surviving Mss. and the ways in which I have utilized them to correct the defective text of the Gāthās.

#### (1) *Preservation and anticipation*

These effects involve the alteration of the end of a word under the influence of forms which precede or follow it. Instances occur in the variants to the following passages. 28.7a *tqm ašm vaḡhāuš* (var. *vaḡhīm*), 32.16a *taḡ vahištācī* (*vahištācī*), 33.11c *ādāi kaḡyācī* (*kaḡyācī*), 34.9ab *spautqm ārmaitm ... hərəxōqm ... əvistī* (*əvistīm*), 43.1e *ašiš vaḡhāuš* (*vaḡhīš*), 48.5c *yaozdā mašyā* (*mašyā*), 50.11ab *aḡhācā ... tavācā isāicā* (*isācā*), etc.

The observation of this process is of significant importance in its first application in determining the correct reading in passages where variants of equally good Mss. stand in opposition to one another. Thus, in 51.12a *vaēpyō kavīnō pəratā* (*pəratō*) *zannō*, the loc. form *pəratā* is preferable, since it reappears in the llg. 51.13b *cinvatō pəratā* (cf. *xratā* 48.4); the var. *pəratō* shows assimilation to the ending of the surrounding forms. Similarly, in 44.8d *yācā ašā aḡhāuš arām vaēdyā* (*-dyāi*), the bracketed var. is clearly inferior in that it reveals the influence of *māudāidyāi* in line b. The same effect is seen in 46.3e *θwā sqstrā* (*-trāi*) *vəraunē*, whose var. stems from the effects of *darəθrāi* and *ūθāi* earlier in the verse. In 47.4c *ašāunē kāθō* (*kāθē*), the former reading is better because it yields a phrase parallel to the antithesis

*akō drəgvātē* in the flg. line: the var. is simply a preservation form. A similar instance is encountered at 44.11d *paouruγō* (-yē) *fravōivīdē*, where the latter var. anticipates the ending of the following verb form. Likewise, in 33.13c *frō spəuā ārmaiti* (-tē), the var. has arisen under the influence of *vouruśānē* in line a occupying the same metrical position in its line before the caesura. In the other direction, in 43.16d *xšāug.dərəsō* (-sōi) *xšaθrōi liyāi ārmaitis*, the var. stems from anticipatory tendencies: the gen. reading appears to be the favored one in view of 53.9d *taī mazdā tavā xšaθrām* and the usual appearance of a gen. with *xšaθrām* in 31.16a *dəmanahyā xšaθrām*, 33.5b *xšaθrām vāyhāuš manahyō*, etc. Further examples of this process at work are easily multiplied.

The recognition of preservation and anticipation in the attested Mss. permits us in turn to postulate the same processes in an earlier stage of development of the text and to acknowledge their effects as already accomplished in the archetype underlying the surviving Mss. This offers a valuable tool for emendation in the following passages.

In 46.11c *γavōi vīspāi drūjō dəmānāi astayō*, *dəmānāi* replaces orig. \**dəmānē*, as is evident from the parallel 49.11d *drūjō dəmānē haiθyā aγhan astayō*. The reading *dəmānāi* has been subject to the effects of preceding *vīspāi*. The identical mistake has also occurred in 47.3hc *yā ahmāi gum ... aī hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitim*, where *vāstrāi* stands for orig. \**vāstrē* (dat. of *vāstar-* 'pastor'). For the verse contains the typical juxtaposition of *gao-* and *vāstar-* seen in 29.1 *gāuš urvā ... vāstā*, 29.2 *γavōi ... vāstrā*. Preceding *ahmāi* has clearly evoked the change to *vāstrāi*. Similarly, 53.5b *xšmaihyācā vadāmnō* reposes on an orig. reading *xšmaihyācā* \**vadāmnā* 'and to you, ye bridegrooms', which has yielded to the influence of *vazyanmāhyō kainihyō* appearing in the preceding line. And in the same hymn, 53.2d *dāyhō ərazūš paθō* should be emended to \**dāyhē ərazūš paθō*: the attested reading has been subject to the effects of the surrounding forms *vīštāspō*, *spitāmō*, *ahurō* and *saošyantiō* besides the influence of adjacent *paθō*.

As cases of anticipation there are the following 2 passages. In 31.2ab *advā aibi.dərəsīā valiyā aī vā vīspāng āyōi*, there is no reason whatsoever to accept the form *advā* as the proper nom. sg. to *advānam* 34.13, 44.3, evoked by the parallel word *pantā*. Rather, for this unique attestation of the nom. it is much more sensible to emend to \**advā* (= Ved. *ádhvā*) for this oldest stage of Avestan and to recognize the anticipatory effects of *valiyā* and the rhyme combination *aī vā*; cf. also *mazdā ayā qsayā* in line c. Similarly, 32.12c *yāis grālmā ašāī varatā karapā* requires the

emendation of *grāhmā* to *\*grāhmā*, since such a form patterns better as masc. nom. sg. to the neut. *grāhmō* attested in flg. 32.13-14. Cf. this type of mistake in 44.18c *dasā aspā* (aspā), 51.6b *xšaθrā mazdā* (-dā), etc.

Of the same type as 34.9ab *spāntqm ārmaitīm ... bərəxδqm ... avistī* (-sīm) is clearly 33.5ab *yastē vīspā.mazištām sərəaošām ... daragō.jyāitīm ā xšaθrām*, where *\*daragō.jyāitī* must be restored as an adj. agreeing with *xšaθrām*; cf. passage for disc. Note this type of preservation also in 34.4b *asīštām āmavantām stōi rapantē* (-ntām) *ciθrā.avañham*. Similarly, 1 sec the effects of preservation in 31.4a *yadā ašām zəvīm* (= *zəvīvam*), which derives from Urtext *\*yadā ašām zuviya* (aor. opt.); cf. 43.10a *ašām hyaṭ mā zaozaomī*, 51.10c *maibyō zbayā ašām*.

Preservation effects are also observed in the Mss. which influence the vocalism of non-final syllables. Thus, 29.1b *aēšāmō ... rāmō* (raēmō), 31.7a *paournyō raocēhiš rōiθvən* (raoθvən), 32.6a *aēnā ānāxštā* (aēnāxštā). With regard to this, it is important to note that the pl. subj. form *āyhāmā* appears only in the phrases 32.1c *dūtāyhō āyhāmā* and 49.8d *fraēštāyhō āyhāmā*, where the preceding words contain -āyh-. This explains the peculiar vocalism of *āyhāmā* vis-à-vis *āyhā aṇhaṭ* etc. Similarly, note that the loc. *afšmānī* occurs at 46.17a *afšmānī sānghānī* preceding a subj. form containing the proper sequence -ānī.

This exact process clearly lies in the attested reading 32.7ab *aojōi hādrōyā yā jōyā* (= *hādrōiyā yā jōiyā*), which should be emended to *aojōi \*hādrāyā yā \*jūyā* (for orig. *\*jīvyā*). Cf. in the same hymn 32.10 *mōrandaṭ ... yā ... aogədā ... yaseā vadarā vōiždaṭ ašāunē* (vars. *maōirandaṭ ... vaōiždaṭ ašaonē*). Such influence has arisen in these passages because of the rarity of the forms in question, which in general are the first ones to submit to alteration.

In the opposite direction, the appearance of *y* internally in a word exerts anticipatory influence on preceding forms. Cf. 34.8b *aojā* (aojyā) *nāidyāñham* and 32.4bc *vaxšantē* (vaxšyantē) ... *siždyamnā ... nasyantō*. The very type *vaxšantē* (vaxšyantē) must be recognized in 48.7a *nī aēšāmō (nī).dyātqm paitī rāmām (paiti).syōdūm*, where *dyātqm* clearly replaces orig. aor. impv. *\*dātqm* under the effect of flg. *syōdūm*. Note also the appearance of *vərəzyātqm* in identical metrical position in preceding vs. 48.5d, which worked its own influence. This emendation thus allows the proper combination of *nī \*dātqm* with the Ved. idiom *nī dhā* 'stop'.

Other verb forms show the same effects of preservation and anticipation as do nouns, and particularly so, since they appear in fixed

positions within the verse lines, a condition which makes them especially susceptible to normalizing influences. Thus, apart from the expected type 31.6 *ayhaṭ ... vaocāṭ* (var. -caṭ) ... *vaxṣaṭ*, note 51.10a *maraxṣaitē* and 51.13a *marādaitī*, both appearing before the caesura, with the var. *marādaitē* in the latter passage. Similarly, in line-final position cf. 31.1 *sāughāmahī* (-mahē) ... *vimarāncaitē*, 46.4 *pāṭ ... caraṭ* (-rāṭ), etc.

As in the instances of nouns, the recognition of this tendency aids in choosing a preferred variant. Thus, in 47.2 *varāyāṭ* (-yaṭ), where the verb form appears at the end of the line, the short-vowel var. shows the influence of 11g. 47.3 *hām.taṣaṭ* and 47.4 *ayhaṭ*, both occupying the same metrical position. Likewise, 48.11 *dāntī* (-ntē) has been conditioned by 11g. 48.12 *hacāntē*; cf. also 48.10 *visantē*, all at the end of the line.

This insight allows us now to explain *āyāṭ* (against *āyaṭ* 31.20) in 46.6a *nā isamṇō āyāṭ* as having arisen from the effect of *gāṭ*, similarly placed at the end of the next line. The emendation *\*āyaṭ* is therefore required. In a similar fashion, 51.5a *vīdaṭ* reposes upon an orig. reading subj. *\*vīdāṭ*, which is required by the syntax; its final vowel was shortened under the influence of the surrounding forms 51.4a *axṣtaṭ* and 51.6a *rādaṭ* appearing in the same line-final position. Also a subj. *\*anṣāṭ* (= *\*ānṣāṭ*) should be restored at 53.7c *anṣaṭ*: the form has been normalized after *nṣaṭ* in the preceding verse. Finally, 50.3d *gaēθqm drāgvā baxṣaitī* makes no sense in attested form and should be emended to *\*baxṣaitē*. Here the ending *-tī* of the attested form stems from *ayhaiṭī* in line a and *baraitī* in 11g. 50.6a, all again at the end of the verse line. Once established, the line ending *drāgvā baxṣaitī* was imported to 47.5c by reason of the process of normalization of similar passages discussed below.

Influence of neighboring words plays an important role in the following examples. In 44.20bc *aēihyō kqm yāiṣ gqm karapā*, *kqm* clearly reposes on orig. *\*kām* (= Ved. *kām* with preceding dat.). The attested vocalism stems from the pressure of neighboring *gqm*. In 31.9ab *θwōi as ārmaitiṣ*, *θwō ā gāuṣ taṣā as xratuṣ mainyuṣ*, the word *\*aṣ.xratuṣ* should be restored; attested *as xratuṣ* shows the effects of preceding *θwōi as ārmaitiṣ*. And similarly, 34.8b *hyaṭ as aojā nāidyāgham* requires restoration of *\*aṣ.aojā*, which yielded to the influence of *as* in the surrounding phrases *yaēṣū as pairi pourubyō iḥyejō* and *aēihyō dūirē volū as manō*. Finally, in 43.2b *x'āθrōyā* (= *x'āθrōi yā*) *nā x'āθram*, we must posit *\*x'arəθəm* for this last word, which was remodeled to the attested reading under the influence

of the initial word in the line. Again, all instances of the elimination of rare forms in the text.

With regard to pronouns, the following passages come into consideration. In 51.17b *yqm hōi isyqm dātū*, the rel. pron. is syntactically impossible in employment with an impv. form. Here it is best to restore the conjunction \**yā* 'in consequence of which', changed under the influence of *isyqm* and preceding vs. 51.16b *yqm cistūm aśā mantā* occupying the exact metrical position. Similarly, in 44.9b *kaṭhā mōi yqm yaoś daēnqm dānē*, the use of the rel. pron. is difficult in a question and likewise metrically difficult in its position before the caesura. Emendation to \**iqm* seems necessary, a reading which was altered under the influence of line c *yqm hudānaoś* etc. Also the masc. acc. *tām* in 53.4a *tām zī vā ... nivarānī yā fādrōi vidā* is impossible in view of the fem. rel. *yā*. It replaces orig. \**iqm* under the influence of the opening of the preceding vs. 53.3a *tāmcā tū*. That this form itself stands for an older \**tāncā* (see below), we clearly see that processes of change were at work continuously throughout the history of the text transmission in the same fashion as they can be observed in the surviving Mss. With 53.4a, cf. also 51.15c *tā vā volū manayhā* for \**ta* vā discussed below.

Two parallel emendations are seen in the following examples. In 51.12c *hyaḥ hōi im ... zōišōmū vāzā*, the senseless *im* stands for orig. du. \**i* agreeing with *vāzā*. The form has been replaced under the effect of *im* in line a *nōiḥ tā im xśnāuś*. Likewise, 45.4b *yā im dā* should be changed to *yā iḥ dā*, since the pron. refers to antecedent neut. *vahištām aśāḥ hacā*. The reading *im* stems from the appearance of *im* in the previous vs. 45.3cd *yōi im vā nōiḥ ... yaṭhā im mānāicā vaocacā*. Cf. comparable mistake in Mss. at 44.19ce *yā iḥ alimāi ... dāitē*, ... *yā im* (var. *iḥ*) *ayhaḥ apāmā*, with *iḥ* taken over from the earlier line.

Typologically similar mistakes must be also acknowledged in the following examples. 50.2d *ākāstāng mā niśqsyā* reposes on orig. \**akqstāng mā niśqsyā*, with the reading influenced by flg. 50.4d *ākā aradrāng* appearing in identical verse position. 31.18a *mā.ciš a* ... *dragvatō ... gūštā* offers no significant meaning with prohibitive *mā.ciš*. Therefore I emend to \**naēcīś*, ascribing the change to *mā avīdvā aipī dābāvaya* in preceding 31.17b. This change, however, may be a conscious redactional substitution of the type seen directly in *aipī dābāvaya* for orig. \**aipī bāvaya*. Likewise, 46.7a *kāmnā ... pāyūm dadā* stands for orig. \**kām vā ...*, as is evident from the parallel opening of the next vs. 46.8a *yā vā mōi*. The change to *kāmnā* has

been motivated by the appearance of *kannaṣṣvā* and *kannānā* in earlier 46.2b of the same hymn.

(2) *False division*

A second important process easily observed in the attested Ms. variants is that of false division. In some instances this effect can be compared to the preservation procedure insofar as these false divisions result from the appearance of parallel forms earlier in the verse. Examples of this process at work in the Mss. are seen in 28.9b *yōi vā yōiṭamā* (var. *yōi ṭamā*), 29.2bc *ḍātā ... vādāyōiṭ* (*vā dāyōiṭ*), 49.2a *aṭ ahyā mā bāndvahyā mānayeitī* (*mā nayeitī*), etc., all evoked by normalization after the preceding forms. Thus, in 34.13b *yāhū karatā* (var. *yā hū.karatā*) *aśāciṭ urvā.xṣaṭ*, the bracketed reading is inferior since it has been modeled after preceding vs. 34.12b *yā vīdāyāṭ aśiṣ rāṣṇam*, which occurs in the exact same position in the verse line.

The equivalent process has already taken place in the archetype of our Mss. with regard to the following passages. Orig. *\*yāmāng* has been divided into the attested reading *yā māng* at 48.2b *yā māng parāṭhā jīmaitī* owing to *yā tvām vīdvā ahurā* in line a. Similarly, 29.6a *aṭ ā vaocaṭ* reposes on *\*atā* (= Ved. *ātas*) *vaocaṭ*, separated because of the influence of *aṭ ī* in line c and preceding 29.5a *aṭ vā*, both in initial position. The same mistake is to be noted at 43.9d *aḍā* (var. *aṭ ā*), where the underlying form should be emended to *\*adā* (= *\*ādā* 'I said'); cf. 43.8a *aṭ hōi*, 8c *aṭ aśaonē*, 10a *aṭ tū*, all of which have exerted their influence on the variant. In the same hymn, note 43.8e *yavaṭ ā* for *\*yavatā*, influenced by preceding line 8d *hyaṭ ā* and the appearance of *yavaṭ* in line-initial position at 28.4c, 50.11b, 53.7b.

Other instances of false divisions found in the Mss. have been evoked by the occurrence of words encountered elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. The effect can be seen in the vars. 28.6 *arāṣvāiṣ* (*arāṣ vāiṣ*), 28.10 *aśāaṭcā* (*aśā aṭcā*), 29.1 *kā mā* (*kām ā*), 30.3 *yāmā* (*yā mā*), 32.8 *ahmākāng* (*ahmā kāng*), 44.2 *paitiṣāṭ* (*paitiṣ āṭ*), 49.7 *gūśahvā* (*gūś ahvā*). Here the words have been incorrectly divided owing to the appearance of the independent forms *arāṣ*, *aśā*, *aṭcā*, *kām*, *yā mā*, etc. throughout the text of the hymns. The effect has also been responsible for the division of the orig. compounds 29.11 *\*āhmā.rātōiṣ*, 30.9 *\*haθrā.manā*, 33.9 *\*maēθā.mayā*, 43.11 *\*xšmā.uxdāiṣ*, 44.10 *\*θwā.iṣtiṣ*, 46.17 *\*hadā.vasīā* into the attested readings *āhmā rātōiṣ*, *haθrā manā* etc. under the pressures of uncompounded *āhmā*, *haθrā*, *maēθā*, *xšmā*, *uxdāiṣ* etc. attested elsewhere in the text. Cf. in the Mss. separated

variants to 34.2 *pairigaēθē*, 43.2 *darəgā.jyātāiš*, 43.8 *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, etc.

In a less obvious fashion, the following passages show the effects of false division. 28.4a *mān gairē* should be emended to *\*māng airē*; the attested reading results from the influence of *garā* 45.8, 50.4, 51.15. Also 29.11a *aṭ mā mašā* reposes on underlying *\*aṭ maṇ ašā* (= *\*ariā*), which was influenced by 49.1a *aṭ mā yavā*, 51.10a *aṭ yē mā* and the consistent use of *mā* in second position in its clause throughout these hymns. Likewise, 32.14b *varəcā.hicā* for *\*varacahicā* results from *hī* 31.10, *hīm* 29.2, 44.14, 50.2, which appear in second position within the line (cf. also *vīspā.hišas* 45.4); and 33.10a *vīspā.stōi* for *\*vīspās.tōi* has been evoked by the placement of *stōi* in this same position at 45.10. This wide-ranging influence has also worked upon 44.12c *katārām ā* for *\*katārē mā*, which is the obvious reading in view of *yē mā drəgvā* in the flg. line. Normalization has taken place under the influence of 31.17a *katārām ašavā*. This last example is especially interesting in that it shows that *-ā* also appeared freq. in the text at the end of words longer than 2 syllables at one time.

The freq. appearance of the repeated preverb in *ayamaitē* 31.13, *anāšē* 44.14, *avaēnā* 46.2, *arapā* 49.1 has been responsible for attested 31.16b *fradaθāi aspərəzatā* for underlying *\*fradaθāi.ā spərəzatā*; cf. *fradaθāi.ā* 45.9. Note the same effect in 32.3c *yāiš asrūdīm* for *\*yāiš ā srūdīm* and 46.4c *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ahēmustō* for *\*x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ā hēmustō*, which clearly belong to the syntactic type encountered in 28.11c *yāiš ā aṇhuš* 32.15a *auāiš ā vī.uēnāsā*, 34.11c *tāiš ā mazdā*, etc. Here too consider 30.3a *yā yāmā x'afənā asrvātām* for *\*x'afənā ā srvātām*, which contains a similar fixed syntactic employment of *ā* with loc.; cf. passage for disc. These last 3 exx. belong more properly with the instances of false combination, but they have been presented here because of the similar motivation lying behind the alterations.

Finally, 32.6b *hātā.marānē* reflects older *\*hātām arānē* (better *\*aranē*) and 53.6c *drūjō āyesē hōiš piθā* older *\*hōi spiθā*, although it is difficult to understand why the first form was altered in view of common *hātām* in the text. Some influence, however, may have been exerted by *vaurucašānē* 33.13, which occupies a close position to *hātā.marānē* in the verse line.

### (3) Influence of one passage upon another

Many of the instances of preservation and false division previously discussed have resulted from the conscious or unconscious attempt

to normalize passages within these Gāthās after other ones containing parallel forms. Yet this process of mutual interaction has much wider effects than those already described, and involves the replacement of a word in a segment of text under the pressures of a similar sounding sequence appearing in a second passage. Such effects can be noticed in the Ms. variants to the following examples. 31.20a *yō āyay* (var. *dāyā*): *dāyā* stems from 29.7c *yō i dāyā*. 34.10b *dqmūn vīdvā hiθqm* (haiθim) *aśahyā*: influence of 31.8c *haiθim aśahyā dqmūn*. 34.11b *vayhōus xšaθrā* (xraθwā) *manayhō*: *xšaθrā* intrudes from 48.3d *vayhōus xšaθwā manayhō*. 46.18b *nuliyā istōis* (cistōis): var. from 44.10e *nuliyā cistōis*.

Recognition of this principle clearly permits the necessary emendations in the following passages. In 45.10de *xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā alimāi sōi dqm* *teyisī mayūti*, *dqm* must be emended to loc. *\*dqm*, thus parallel to preceding loc. *xšaθrōi*. The form *dqm* has penetrated from similar 47.1c *alimāi dqm haurvātā amərətātā*. Similarly, 51.10a *anyāθā alimā* stands for older *anyāθā \*ahma*, with *ahmā* imported under the influence of 45.11c *anyāθā alimā* (cf. also *ahma* 34.9 with var. *ahmā*). Also note that the beginning of the line *ay yō mā nā* (var. *nā*) appears with a variant influenced by 32.10a *hvō mā nā* and 46.10a *yō vā nōi nā*. Here too we must consider 47.5c *dragvā haxšaiti* for *\*haxšaitē*, whose form was generalized after 50.3d *dragvā haxšaiti*, where the wrong form arose under preservation effects (see above). Also cf. 46.10c *aśm* (var. *aśim*) *asāi volū xšaθrām manayhā*, with var. *aśim* influenced by 43.16c *aśim šyaoθanāis volū daidī manayhā*.

A parallel process is seen in the next two examples. The pron. *tā* in 51.15c *tā vō volū manayhā* clearly replaces *\*ta*, since the referent is *hyay mīzdam* in line a. The form *tā* has arisen from the pressure of the similar line opening *tā vō* found in preceding 51.2a *tā vō mazdā* and 31.1a *tā vō urvātā*. Likewise, the senseless 30.7c *aēsqm tōi ā ayha* requires emendation to *aēsqm \*pōi ā ayha*, which belongs with 44.15h *ahyā ... pōi ... xšayehi*. The attested reading stems from the influence of 34.1c *aēsqm tōi alurā* appearing in the identical position in the verse and from the freq. attestation of *tōi* and *tē* in second position in the line. Cf. also the type 46.7a *kāmūā* for *\*kām vā* and 50.2d *ākāstāng mā* for *\*akāstāng mā* discussed under preservation procedures above.

In a similar fashion, 33.14bc *manayhascā vayhōus mazdāi šyaoθanahyā aśā yēcā* exerted its influence on the orig. form of 30.1bc *vayhōus manayhō humqzdrāi \*aśāyēcā*, changing *\*aśāyēcā* to attested *aśā yēcā* (through *aśā \*yēcā*). Here it is quite clear that the sequence of similar



words in 33.14bc, which appear in the same metric positions, has worked profound effects in 30.1bc. The identical mistake in 51.2a *tā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā ašā(i) yecā* for *\*ašāyācā* also seems to be dependent on the freq. juxtaposition of *mazdā* or *ahurā* with *ašā(i)cā*, as seen in 29.8b *mazdā vašti ašāicā*, 32.9c *mazdā ašāicā*, 34.6a *mazdā ašā*, 34.3a *ahurā ... ašāicā dāmā*. Note also flg. 51.15c *tā vā volū manayhā ašāicā* for *\*ašācā*, which belongs with the general confusion of the forms *ašācā* and *ašāicā* seen throughout the surviving Mss. of the Gāthās.

To my mind, 48.11bc *hušaitiš vāstravaiti ... drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš rām̐m̐ dānti* requires the emendation of *rām̐m̐* to *\*rām̐m̐* because of the surrounding terms *drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš*; cf. 29.1-2. The reading *rām̐m̐* has been introduced owing to the similarity of 29.10b *yā hušaitiš rām̐m̐cā dāt*. Cf. similar mistake in Mss. to 43.10e *aēšām dyāi*, with var. *aēšām̐m̐* which has been evoked from the like sounding parallel 44.20c *aēšām̐i dātā*. Likewise, 48.7a *nī aēšāmō (nī).dyāt̐m̐ paiti rām̐m̐ (paiti).syōdūm̐* shows that *\*rām̐m̐* must also be introduced into 49.4a *aēšām̐m̐ varədan rām̐m̐cā*. The appearance of *rām̐m̐cā* is probably to be ascribed to the process of generalization of a single form *rām̐m̐cā* in the text, based on its first attestation at 29.10.

Lastly, note that 34.11c *tāiš ā mazdā vidvaēšq̐m̐ θwōi ali* for *\*vidvaēšām̐ \*θwōyalī* (assim. of *\*θwayalī*; cf. *θwōrəštā* etc.) shows the undeniable influence of 31.9a *θwōi as* as normalizing model. Also 29.1c *aθā mōi s̐stā volū vāstryā* for *\*vāstrā* probably has been effected by Vr. 15.1 *vərəz̐yatq̐m̐ iθā volū vāstryā*, and *nō* in 30.2c *ahm̐i nō sazdyāi* stems from 51.6c *aθā nō sazdyāi*.

(4) *Replacement or alteration of rare words by frequently occurring types*

Here the attempt is made to eliminate uncommon forms by leveling in favor of common types. Thus, *vidvanōi* 31.3, *vaēdanā* 34.7, *hacōnā* 44.13 all have vars. *vidvannōi*, *vaēdannā*, *hacōnnā*, which are modeled after the freq. med. parts. in *-annā-*, *-ōnnā-*. The forms *dyā* 43.8, *ušyā* 43.15 and *raēdyā* 44.8 appear with vars. *dyāi*, *ušyāi* and *vaēdyāi* influenced by the common inls. in *-dyāi*, such as *vōi-dyāi* 43.13, *sūidyāi* 44.2, *māndāidyāi* 44.8. Similarly, the hapaxes *mazdāthā* 30.1, *hāmō* 31.7, *maēnīs* 31.15, 44.19, *srāvahyeiti* 32.6, *ā.hōiθōi* 32.14, *m̐yazdām* 34.3, *azō* 43.14, *madahyā* 48.10, etc. show variants *mazdā θwā*, *haomō*, *mainyus*, *srāvayēiti* (source of long vocalism in *srāvahyeiti*!), *ā hōi θwōi*, *mīzdām*, *azōm*, *magahyā*, which have been normalized after forms better known elsewhere in the Gāthās and the later Avesta.

This process has also been responsible for the appearance of the following forms in the antecedent archetype. *dyāi* 29.8 for \**dyā*: this form reveals the same effect of the inf. in -*dyāi* (cf. *dyādyāi* 43.8 cited above). Similarly, *divannam* 31.20 for \**dyvannam* is not to be considered a case of false vocalization but rather as the attempt to introduce the freq. part. ending -*annam* into the underlying form. Note that attested *divannam* can be the graphic representation of \**dyvannam*, which would have resulted from this normalization.

*uraui* 32.14 for \**uruiē* shows the influence of *uraumi*, as is also attested in some Mss. to the passage. *ārōi* 34.3 for \**arōi* has been leveled after the preceding perf. form *ārōi* 33.9: the same form has been generalized into *ārōi* 50.5. Note that the old inf. survives in the false division 28.4a *mān gairē* for \**māng airē* (see above). *frāxšunē* 43.12 for \**frāxšunē* has submitted to neighboring *frāxšunam* in Ilg. 43.14: cf. also *frāxšunā* 29.11. *asīstis* 44.9 for \**asīstis* has been affected by *asīstā* 30.10, *asīstam* 34.4, and *daidyat* (with var. *daidyāt*) 44.10 for \**daidyat* has been modeled after the common yAv. opt. *daidyāt*. *vidvaēšqm* 34.11 for \**vidvaēšam* shows influence of common rhyme gen. *aēšqm* etc. Furthermore, *pišyeimī* 44.20 for \**pišyeimī* surely shows the influence of *šyeimī* YH. 37.2, 39.3, Y. 12.3. Note correct shape is maintained in *pišyasū* 50.2, which also appears with dominant var. *pišyasū* evoked by 44.20.

In the same category of elimination of uncommon forms belongs 53.3a *tāucā iñ poutucistā* for orig. \**tāucā iñ*; cf. *hāunū* 33.7, 53.8 with var. *hāun iñ*. Also *vaocajhē* 28.11 for \**vacajhē*, developed from \**vacajhyā* (= Ved. *vacasyā*), which was drawn into the inf. type *vaēnajhē* 32.10, *aēnajhē* 46.7, 8, etc. Likewise, the freq. form *dātā* is the source of the introduction of the long vowel into 3pl. *dātā* 44.20 for \**datā* and *mərəždātā* 33.11 for \**mərəždatā*; and the opt. type *hīyānā* 30.9, *hīyātā* 50.7 the source of the long vowel in *višyātā* 30.3, 6, *maiṇyātā* 45.11, *varəžyātqm* 48.5, etc. Again, supplantation of unusual forms through the processes of normalization after common ones.

How far these changes are the results of unconscious processes and how far they issue from the institution of direct redactional efforts is often difficult to decide. In some instances, such as the uniform appearance of *ārōi* in the text, the handiwork of the redactors seems apparent. In other cases, however, it is unmistakable. Thus, in 45.3ab *fravaxšyā ... paourvīn, yqm mōi ... vaocat, paourvīn* must clearly be emended to fem. \**paourvyqm* to agree with Ilg. rel. *yqm* (sc. *sastim*).

The reason for the attested reading, however, becomes obvious when we notice the fact that all of the other 4 exx. of *paourvīm* in the Uṣṭavaitī verse form (43.5, 8, 11, 44.2) appear similarly at the end of the verse line. Therefore it seems rather obvious that a redaction of the text equally introduced *paourvīm* in place of the abnormal *\*paourvyqm* in this special position at 45.3a. Of similar origins is the appearance of *haiθīm* in 51.13a *daēnā arəzaos haiθīm*, where again a fem. form *\*haiθyqm* is needed in this passage to refer to preceding *daēnā*. Observing the occurrence of *haiθīm* likewise in line-final position at 31.6, we can probably attribute the reading *haiθīm* in place of expected *\*haiθyqm* to the normalizing activities of the redactors.

The clearest instance of their direct interference is found in the examples of *mān dā* appearing in the Gāthās. For there is no way that the surviving reading 53.5b *māncā i mazdazdām* can have arisen through the repetition of preverbs except by the existence of an earlier form of the phrase as *\*mascā i mazdazdām* (modeled after 44.9b *raoš daēnqm raozdanē*). Likewise, 31.5b *māncā dāidyāi* must repose on orig. *\*mascā dāidyāi* and 44.8b *māndāidyāi* on *\*mazdāidyāi*, all parallel to *hunaqzdrāi* 30.1. However, once the orig. form of 28.4a *\*māng airē ... dadē* was falsely divided into *mān gairē ... dadē*, as we noted above, the redaction simply generalized the first form of the text throughout the rest of the Gāthās. This process thus parallels the generalization of *frō* as unique tmesis form of the preverb in these hymns on the basis of its first attestation at 28.11b *frō.mā sīsā*, where the change of *\*frā* to *frō* is phonetically motivated, although it is not proper at 33.13c *frō spantā*, 46.3b *frō asahyā*, 46.10e *frō tāis*.

Yet we can continue the argument. The repetition of orig. *\*frā* in 33.8a *frō mōi travōizdām* and 49.6a *frō vā fraēšyā* must have occurred before the phonetic development of *\*frā* to *frō* and its subsequent generalization, otherwise there is no means to explain why *fra-* is the only form of the repeated preverb and why *frō* is the only normalized form in tmesis. In this way we can distinguish at least two clear levels of redactional activity and two clear levels of textual history. The first involves the redactional procedure concerning the repetition of preverbs. This must have taken place at a time when the text existed in a relatively archaic state, for it is only at this period that both 33.8a *\*frā mōi travōizdām* and 33.13c *\*frā spantā ... fradaxšayā* could be possible, as well as 53.5b *\*mascā i mazdazdām*. The second level involves the generalization of the tmesis forms of the preverbs, and this can only have occurred after the phonetically conditioned

change of *\*frā* to *frō* (similarly, *\*apā* > *apō*, *\*avā* > *avō*) and the false division of *\*māng airē* to *mān gairē* had already been achieved. This represents a period considerably later than the former one, a time when the oral Vulgate had already exerted substantial interference upon the older canonical written form of the text. It is probably during the redactional activities of this later period that such normalizations as *paourvīm*, *haiθīnz*, *ārōi* etc. were accomplished, for in outlook they are not really different from the generalization concerning tmesis forms of the preverbs. Here too one should probably consider the discussion of 31.16b *fradaθāi asparəzaū*, 32.3c *yūis asrūdūm*, 46.4c *x'āiš šyaothanāiš ahānustō*, 30.3a *γā γāmā x'afəuā asrvātām* found under the category of false division. For they most likely show the effects of direct redactional interference in the attempt to treat the older preceding *\*ā* on the model of the repeated preverbs. Similarly, to this period belongs the redactional generalization of *naihyō* 28.2, 31.4 etc. and *taihyō* 30.8, 34.1 etc. as pause forms, against the retention of older *naihyācā* and *taihyācā*, although the mechanism which motivated *naihyō* and *taihyō* is not clear to me. Possibly 43.14b *naihyō mazdā* is the primary locus.

To this same period I would ascribe the redactional changes of *dīdaijē* 43.11 for perf. *\*dāḏaijē* and *dīkərəsaū* 46.7 for perf. subj. *\*dāḏərəsaū* (= Ved. *dadharṣati*), which arise from the attempt to introduce *-i-* into the reduplicating syllable of uncommon forms, modeled after *dīdərəzō* 44.15 *dīdrayzō.duyē* 48.7, *jīgərəzaŋ* 32.13, etc. Conversely, the change of *\*dīdyaŋ* to *daiŋyaŋ* in 44.10 after well known opt. *daiḏyāŋ* etc.: the word does not have a clear reduplicative character. Likewise, *aipī dābāvayaŋ* for *aipī \*hāvayaŋ* in 31.17 results from the redactors' attempt to normalize the form after *dābuomā* 30.6, *dābanaotā* 32.5, etc.: cf. hypercorrect *dābqzaū* 44.6, *dābqzanhā* 47.6, *dragvō.dābīs* 29.2, 48.11, etc. Similarly, *išasā* 31.4, *išasōiŋ* 50.2, *išasqs* 51.19 for *\*išā*, *\*išōiŋ*, *\*išqs* stem from the learned effort to indicate that these forms are related to common yAv. *išaiti* etc. As usual, this attempt is not systematically introduced (*išamō* 30.1, 47.6, etc. remain) and falsely applied in the hypercorrection of *\*hišaŋ* to *hišasaŋ* at 32.13.

##### (5) *The false combination of forms*

This process is the reverse of the mechanism of false division, and consists of the incorrect joining of words which surely were separated in the original. Motivation usually arises from the similarity with other segments of the same shape attested elsewhere in the hymns.

For the variants this effect can be observed in 29.1a *kā mā* (var. *kāmā*) *tašaṭ*, 31.5b *yehyā mā* (*yehyāmā*), 32.3b *maš yazaitē* (*mašyazaitē*), 32.7b *yā jōyā* (*yājōyā*), 34.9c *maš ašā* (*mašašā*), 51.12b *urūraosta aštō* (*urūraostaštō*), etc. In these examples the occurrences of *kāmam* 28.10, *hīyāmā* 30.9, *mašyā* 32.4 etc., *hādrōyā* 32.7 and *isōyā* 43.8, *taštō* 49.9 have exerted influence on the Ms. tradition.

The same effect has already taken place with regard to a number of forms in the underlying ancestor of the surviving Mss. 46.4e *frō.gā ... caraṭ* should be divided into *frō gā ... caraṭ*, since we are clearly dealing with the idiom *fra kar* 'reveal, free'; cf. passage for disc. The combination results from the pressures of 49.6a *frō.vā fraēšyā*; also influence of common *frō.mā* (*mōi*). Likewise, 48.1a *adāiš* for older *\*ād āiš* reflects the influence of the instr. forms *anāiš* 28.9, 32.15, 53.6, 8 and *avāiš* 32.15, 44.15. And quite similar to this last example is 46.5a *adaš dritā* for *\*ā daš dritā*, undoubtedly affected by *adā* 29.2, 30.10 and *adō* 44.4. The effect of forms such as *uxšāuō* 46.3, *marətauō* 30.6, 32.12, *maθrāuō* 32.13 brought about the false combination *apāuō* in 33.5b, which stands in place of underlying *\*apā nō* 'I shall attain for us'. This instance is of particular interest in that the false joining must have occurred before the replacement of final *-ā* by *-ō* in almost all polysyllabic words; cf. *katārēm ā* for *\*katārē mā* in 44.12c discussed above, which also supports this view, and note *frāxšāuō* 29.11. Thus the change must have been realized while *\*uxšāuō*, *\*marətauō* etc. still existed in the older recension of the Gāthās.

Of similar origins is *sāx'āni* 53.5 for *\*sāx'ān ī* (older *\*sax'ān ī*), falsely combined because of the existence of the loc. type *cašmaīni* 31.8, 45.8, with its vocalism adjusted according to *x'āng* 44.3, 50.10, etc. The compound *vispō.mazištəm* 33.5 also has evoked *manā.vistāiš* 46.19 (both before the caesura) for *\*mauō vistāiš* (older *\*manā vistāiš*). Here one should notice the interesting detail that *\*manā vistāiš* has developed phonetically in the oral Vulgate to attested *manō.vistāiš* in a way fully parallel to *\*savištō > savištō*, *\*avistī > avistī*, etc.

In the instance of *ādīveyēntī hacēuā* for *\*ādī vyeīntī hacēuā* in 44.13d, the combination stems from the rarity of the forms in question, for the Mss. tend to blend together words of unusual character. Cf. variants in 31.20b *āyū tāmaṭhō* (*āyūtəmaṭhō*), 44.4b *adō uabāscā* (*adōnabāscā*), etc.

Finally, *ā.mōyastrā* 30.9 reposes on orig. *\*ā mōi (a)stā* and 43.7d *daxšār fərasayāi dišā* on orig. *\*daxšār ā fərasē (ā)dišā*. The history of these changes is discussed in detail in the commentary.

(6) *Effects of the oral Vulgate*

As Geldner carefully noted (1896, xlvii), the Mss. of the Gāthās reveal in obvious fashion the encroachment of an oral Vulgate recension upon the older written version of the text, a situation arising from the fact that the scribes who copied the Mss. undoubtedly knew these hymns by heart and frequently adjusted the Ms. readings before them according to their memorized version of the Vulgate text. Unmistakable signs of the Vulgate influence are seen first in the incursion of yAv. types into the Mss. which reflect modern pronunciation. This can be found in the variants to *aojōnghvaṭ* 28.6 (var. *aojōnghvaṭ* *aojaṅhvaṭ*), *dvaēšā* 28.6 (*ṭbaēšā*), *vām* 28.11 (*tūm*), *frasāhyō* 29.5 (*-sābyō*), *vijāmyāṭ* 44.11 (*vījimyāṭ*), etc., as well as the modern forms which already have penetrated into the reconstructible text. Cf. *ṣṣuyemē* 29.5 (: *ṣṣuyantaēcā* 29.6), *māñhī* 29.10 (: *māñghī* 31.8 etc.), *vārayā* 31.3 (: *vāwōimaidī* 28.5), *jimaitī* 48.2 (: *jamaitī* 30.8), etc.

Secondly, the influence of the Vulgate is noticeable in the expected oral processes of (a) haplology and contraction, (b) vacillation or hesitation in similar vocoid complexes. Type (a) developments can be observed in the Mss. at 31.1c *zrazdā aṅhan* (var. *zarazdāṅhan*), 31.15a *parasā avai* (*pārasāvai*), 33.10c *vohū uxšyā* (*vohūxšyā*), 43.7c *kahyā ahī* (*kahyāhī*), 47.1ab *manahhā hacā* (*manahhācā*), *sāsnamam* 48.3 (*sāsnam*), *srāvayaēmā* 49.6 (*srāvaēmā*), etc. Type (b) appears in *jasaeitām* 30.4 (*jasaitām*), *taihyō* 30.8 etc. (*taēibyō*), *šacēiti* 33.5, 43.3, 46.16 (*šaitī šāiti šēiti* etc.), *ašāimē* 32.10 etc. (*ašaonē*).

Recognition of the effects of type (a) already accomplished in the underlying archetype is essential in the following instances. Clear haplology appears in *vairya* 43.13 for *\*vairyaṣā*, *hēcā* 46.1 for *\*hāhēcā*, and 46.2c *garazōi tōi ā ī avaēnā* for *\*garazōi tōi ā ā ī avaēnā*. These emendations are essential to improve defective meter. Likewise, contraction must be acknowledged in *yāhi* 46.14, which reposes on *\*yā ahī*, a change which both improves the meter and allows a sensible interpretation of the passage. Similarly, the contraction seen in *srāvayaēmā* 49.6 (*srāvaēmā*) has already had profound effects on the shape of most opt. forms in the Gāthās. Thus, *zaranaēmā* 28.9, *aṅhāyā* 32.16 and *xšayā* 50.9 have developed from *\*zarānāyaēmā*, *\*āṅhāya(i)yā* and *\*xšaya(i)yā*, again forms required on metrical grounds. Note the same origins for the forms *xšaēša* Y. 8.5 and *xšaētā* YH. 41.2, *apaēmā* YH. 41.2, *zāēmā* YH. 41.4, which derive from *\*xšayaēša* and *\*xšayaētā* (: *xšayete*), *\*apayaēmā* (: *apayēiti*), *\*zayaēmā* (: *ivizayaθā*

53.7). And, in parallel fashion, *srāvīmā* 28.7 (= \**srōimā*; cf. *caviṣī* 51.15 for \**cōiṣī*) has developed from older \**sravōimā*; cf. var. *sravaēimā*, which is a modernization. Thus we must posit a general tendency to contract the parallel sequences \*-āyai- > -ai- (= -aē-C-, -ay-V-) and \*-avōi- > -ōi-.

Preferable readings or emendations based on type (b) are required in *parāsaitē* 31.12, *parāsaitē* 31.13 and *hāmyāsaitē* 33.1 for \**hām.yasāētē* (vocalism of attested reading affected by *yāsā* 28.1, 8, etc.). These suggestions all conform to the general confusion seen in the variants.

Returning a moment to the question of contraction, it is perhaps to avoid the possible effects of this process that the attested reading 45.7d *utayūtā yā naraṣ* for *utayūtā \*ā naraṣ* developed. But in this example we might be able to ascribe the false reading to normalization after the rel. pron. which appears so frequently in this position following the caesura. Possibly the var. *lahmī* encountered in 34.5a *yaṭhā vā ahni* also stems from an unconscious attempt to anticipate the *h* of *ahni*, in order to create an effective hiatus tilger capable of preventing the tendency towards contraction. Cf. in the Mss. the type 51.12c *hyaṭ hōi im* (var. *hīm*; but probably a preservation form).

The existence of this oral Vulgate beside the older Ms. tradition has resulted also in a definite tension between the two recensions with regard to forms which were possible in pronunciation and forms which could not be written because of existing orthographic restrictions. The forms in question are naturally those involving sequences of the semivowels \*-ī- and \*-ū- (and their combinations), and for the most part, the problem of indicating proper meter was accomplished by the use of the vowel *a*, fundamentally employed as a syllable marker in the written version of the text. We see this practice in the Ms. variants to *zaviṣṭyāghō* 28.9 (var. -tayāghō), *tvām* 28.11 (*tvaām*, i.e. *tavām*), *dvaīdī* 29.5 for \**dvaīdī* (*davaīdī*), *vāstryāēcā* 29.6 (*vāstrayaēcā*), *dayāi* 29.8 (*dayāi*), *jvāmahi* 31.2 (*javāmahi*), *jvantō* 31.3 (*javantō*), etc.

The observation of this practice now allows us to correctly evaluate some critical readings. Thus, with regard to *bvaṭ* 30.9, *hvaitī* 30.10, *bvaiutī* 33.10, all with var. *bav-*, the readings beginning with *hv-* are far preferable, since they can be interpreted as \**buvaṭ* etc. and exactly compared with the Ved. subj. *bhūvat*. The correct forms also require us to consider *bavaṭ* 28.11 as the graphic representation of \**buvaṭ* as well. Similarly, *davqscinā* 31.10 can be the graphic representation of \**duvqscinā*, and the word can therefore be related to Ved. *divus-*, a help in understanding the passage.

If we consider the question of the Vulgate in broader terms, the following points can be mentioned. The text of the Gāthās reconstructible from the extant Mss. already shows considerable influence of a Vulgate text. Apart from the defective forms just discussed, which arise from oral processes such as haplology and contraction and which must be also projected back into the antecedent archetype, the reconstructed text of the hymns reveals the interference of the Vulgate also in the penetration of modern forms (type *jimaṭ*, *śūyentē*, etc.) and in the many examples of phonetically conditioned readings (type *frō.mā*, *ābaxsō.hvā*, *dragvō.dābīs* for pre-redactional *\*dragvodhīs*, etc.) whose appearance is likewise guaranteed for the ancestor Ms. What does this archetype then represent? As I view the matter, the archetype of our extant Mss., or the earlier Mss. from which it directly derives, must represent the attempt to reconcile an archaic written version of the Gāthās with a liturgically employed recension of the text, whose chief characteristic, of course, was the consistent protraction of all final vowels. When this special redaction was achieved is very difficult to determine, for its subsequent history must have been in many ways parallel to the history of the text of the hymns we can see in the extant Mss. That is to say, this older text must have been subject to a constant attack on the forms it contained by conscious and unconscious processes and influences parallel to those which we have just described in the preceding pages. In view of such a history and the various effects occurring during its development, it is remarkable that so great a part of the Gāthās has survived for us in uncorrupted form.

#### THE TRANSLATION

In the following translation of the Gāthās, I have endeavored to render as literally as possible the grammar and syntax of the original text, while attempting to still maintain a reasonable degree of immediate readability. Where there has been a departure from the original, usually to avoid the cumbersome sequences of relative clauses encountered in the hymns, this fact is mentioned in the commentary if it is of any consequence. Equal care has also been devoted to the translation of individual words which, whenever possible, appear translated with only one English equivalent. Again, any variance from this practice is fully justified in the following commentary by a thorough study of the employment of such terms in the hymns in their differing contexts. All these efforts, of course, have been made



in the desire to allow the text to speak for itself, for it is our primary task to interpret what the text itself says, not to project our interpretations into it. However, some notes have been appended to the translation whose purpose is to supply certain fundamental ideas occasionally left unexpressed by Zarathustra in his poetry and to explain some basic notions reappearing in the hymns. The latter have been added for the aid of those who might wish to consult the translation without any philological interest in the text or commentary. For them I have also normalized the transcriptions of proper names encountered in the translation, and I have adopted the same procedure in the introductions to the individual hymns found at the beginning of the commentary on each Gāthā.

#### THE COMMENTARY

My chief aim in the commentary has been to discuss the difficult problems of the syntax of the Gāthās, while adding my views on the truly thorny issues of grammar and vocabulary. This end I have tried to achieve through a thorough and impartial investigation of the important material in the hymns, in the attempt to avoid the usual polemics which have characterized many investigations of these remarkable poems. With this view in mind, I have omitted a good deal of negative criticism of ideas and interpretations which I have rejected, for it became clear that this work could never have been completed if a discussion of every alternative suggestion had been presented and evaluated in its turn. In the interest of economy, I also have not repeated the many well known examples of textual parallels existing between the Gāthās and the Rīgveda, since these are readily available in the works of Humbach (1959, II) and Schlerath (1968a, II). New examples, however, have been included where they have been overlooked by previous studies.

My own efforts with regard to the question of parallel passages has been concentrated in other directions. In the first place, I have stressed the appearance of contrasting or antithetical statements and ideas appearing throughout the Gāthās, because I believe that these notions belong to Zarathustra's fundamental philosophy and therefore are often of importance in establishing the exact interpretation of passages whose meaning is not clear when approached independently. Secondly, I have tried to signal as far as possible the thematic parallels existing in these lyrics, that is, instances in which Zarathustra expresses the same underlying idea through the technique of paraphrase or through

other means of variation and amplification. For, as mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, the message of the Gāthās is remarkably uniform and consistent in both outlook and expression, and in this light, the indication of thematic parallels is a productive instrument in assessing the meaning of many a passage whose interpretation is uncertain at first glance. The usual method of presentation of these thematic parallels is to gather and treat them together in one place in the commentary, while signaling this place of discussion at the other points in the text where the individual parallels appear.

This indeed is the general technique of presentation in the commentary with regard to all matters under consideration and investigation. Thus, for example, an indication such as cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā jasaṣ* etc. signifies that the pertinent material for the interpretation of the text is presented in the commentary on Y. 30.7, in the paragraph beginning *ahmāicā jasaṣ*. Where such indications have been regrettably overlooked, the parallels can nonetheless be found through the aid of the index locorum, which signals line by line the places in the commentary where each text citation has been mentioned.

An introduction precedes the commentary on each Gāthā, wherein I have attempted to explain the contents of the hymn and to give indications of who is addressed by Zarathustra and for which purpose. Furthermore, I have tried to emphasize in these introductions the moral and ethical character of Zarathustra's teachings, which, to my mind, has been seriously neglected in the recent misplaced fascination with the ritualistic background of these exalted lyrics. It may be true that the prophet has emerged from a society actively engaged in the performance of the traditional cultic rites, and that by upbringing and training he had inherited the techniques and crafts of this ritualism, which reveal themselves in the signposts of his vocabulary and in the general character of his poetic art, but above all this, the focus and emphatic insistence of the prophet's hymns are directed towards a purpose and unity of thought which oppose the empty, mechanical methods of the ritual. In contrast, I see the extraordinary contribution of Zarathustra in the profound realization that man can both serve and honor god more meaningfully in the enactment of the lordly principles of truth and good thinking among his fellow men than in the awesome reverence founded upon fear and dread. It is true that god merits praise and worship, but chiefly so because he created and offered to his people those instruments of good which can in turn offer dignity and happiness in the world of man. If the world

is to be saved, this can only happen if man responds to man in accordance with those lofty principles which god founded and represents and which man must uphold in determination and spirit.

## Yasna 28

1. *ahvā yāsā nəmanhā ustānazastō rafəðrahyā*  
*mainyēnš mazdā paourvīm spəntahyā ašā višpāng šyaoθanā*  
*vayhēnš xratūm manayhō yā xsnəvīšā gəušcā urvənam*
2. *yē vā mazdā ahurā pairī.jasāi volū manayhā*  
*maihyō dā vōi ahvā astvatacā hyatcā manayhō*  
*āyapitā ašā! hacā yāiš rapantō daidī xāθrē*
3. *yē vā ašā lifyānī manascā volū apaourvīm*  
*mazdmcā ahurəm yaēihyō xsāθramcā ayžōnəvanənam<sup>1</sup>*  
*varədaiti āmaitiš ā mōi rafəðrāi zavəng jasatā*
4. *yē urvənam<sup>2</sup> mēn gairē<sup>2</sup> volū dadē haθrā manayhā*  
*ašīscā šyaoθananəm vīdūš mazdā ahurahyā*  
*yava! isāi tavācā ava! xsāi aēšē ašahyā*
5. *ašā ka! θvā darəsānī manascā volū vaēdəmnō*  
*gātūmcā ahurāi səvištāi sərəošəm mazdāi*  
*anā mθrā mazīstəm vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizvā*
6. *volū gaidī manayhā dāidī ašā dā darəgāyū*  
*ərəšvāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā zaraθuštrāi aojōnghva! rafənō*  
*ahmaihyācā ahurā yā daihišvatō dvaēšā taurvayāmā<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> K<sub>37</sub>: cf. ayžōnəvanənam Mf<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> read *māng airē*.

<sup>3</sup> read *taurvāmā*.

## Yasna 28

1. With hands outstretched in reverence of him, (our) support, the spirit virtuous through truth, I first entreat all (of you), Wise One<sup>1</sup>, through this act, for (that) through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow<sup>2</sup>.

2. I who shall serve all of you, Wise Lord, with good thinking, to me are to be granted the attainments of both existences — yes, of matter as well as of mind — those attainments befitting truth through which one might set Thy supporters in happiness.

3. I who shall eulogize all of you as never before — thee, o truth, and good thinking and the Wise Lord and (those others<sup>3</sup>) for whom piety<sup>4</sup> increases their unharmable rule — come ye to my calls for support.

4. I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking, and who knowingly bear in mind the Wise Lord's rewards for (our) actions<sup>5</sup>, as long as I shall be able and be strong, so long shall I look in quest of truth.

5. Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord? With a fierce tongue we would turn the greatest obedience to the most powerful Lord through the following prayer :

6. *"Come Thou together with good thinking. Along with truth, grant in accordance with Thy lofty words, Wise One, the long-lived gift of strong support to Zarathustra and to us, Lord, through which we shall overcome the enmities of the enemy"*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Also intended are truth and good thinking, who appear in the company of Ahura Mazda (the Wise Lord) throughout this hymn.

<sup>2</sup> The soul of the cow, or the cow alone, is the good vision, a view of the world governed by truth and good thinking. Cf. introd. to Y. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, the other good and enduring values which the Wise Lord represents.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the piety of the faithful.

<sup>5</sup> *be they good or bad*. The intention is that a man shall be rewarded according to his actions at the moment of judgment.

<sup>6</sup> The enemy is deceit and its followers, the deceitful ones, who have ruined the present world.

7. *dāidi ašā iqm ašim vañhōuš āyaptā manayhō*  
*dāidi m̄ ārmaitē vištāspāi iśəm maihyācā*  
*dāstū mazdā xsayācā yā vē mąθrā srəvimā<sup>4</sup> rādā*
8. *vahištəm θwā vahištā yām ašā vahištā ha-aosəm*  
*ahurəm yzīsā vōumuš narōi fərašaostirāi maihyācā*  
*yaeibyasccā i rāyhañhōi višpāi yavē vañhōuš manayhō*
9. *auāiš vā rōi ahurā mazdā<sup>5</sup> ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā<sup>6</sup>*  
*manascā /iya! vahištəm yōi vā yōiθəmā dasəmə stūtqm*  
*yūžəm zəvištayāñhō iśō xsəθrəmcā savayhqm*
10. *a! yəng ašāatcā vōištā vañhōušcā dāθəng manayhō*  
*arəθwəng mazdā ahurā aēihyō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm*  
*a! vā xsəmaihyā<sup>7</sup> asīmā vaēdā x'araiθyā vaintyā sravā*
11. *yā āiš ašəm nīpəñhē manascā vohñ yavaētāitē*  
*tvñm mazdā ahurā frō.mā sīsā θwəhmā! vacayñhē<sup>8</sup>*  
*mainyōuš hacā θwā əəñhā yāiš ā añhuš paouruyō hava!<sup>9</sup>*

<sup>4</sup> read *srōimā*, from orig. *sravōimā*: cf. *sravaēmā* K<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> omit.

<sup>6</sup> read *zaranaēyaēmā* (metr. *zarnāyaēmā*).

<sup>7</sup> omit.

<sup>8</sup> read *vacayñhē*, from orig. *vacayñhyā*.

<sup>9</sup> for *hava!*.

7. Give, o truth, this reward, namely, the attainments of good thinking. Give thou, o piety, power to Vishtaspa<sup>7</sup> and to me. And do Thou give, Wise Ruler, that promise through which we may hear of your solicitude (for us).

8. Thee, Best One, the Lord who art of the same temperament with the best truth, do I lovingly entreat for the best for Frashaoshtra<sup>8</sup>, the hero, and for me, and (for those others<sup>9</sup>) to whom Thou shalt grant it, the best for a whole lifetime of good thinking.

9. May we not anger all of you, Lord, by these entreaties — not Thee and the truth and that thinking which is best — we who are organized in the offering of praises to you. (But) ye are the strongest, (and) to mighty ones (like you) belong the powers and the mastery<sup>10</sup>.

10. Therefore, those whom Thou dost know, Wise Lord, to be just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking, for them do Thou fulfill their longing with these attainments. For I know that words deriving from good purpose and from love are not to be left wanting by you.

11. Thou who dost guard truth and good thinking for eternity in accord with the following things, do Thou, Wise Lord, instruct me (in these very things) through the eloquence befitting Thy spirit and with Thine own mouth, the things by means of which the foremost existence<sup>11</sup> shall come about here.

<sup>7</sup> Prince Vishtaspa was Zarathustra's patron, who accepted the prophet and founded the first community of true adherents to Z.'s message.

<sup>8</sup> Frashaoshtra and his brother Jamaspa were noblemen in the circle of Vishtaspa. Jamaspa, so tradition tells, was adviser to the prince and married Pourucista, one of Z.'s daughters. Cf. Y. 53.3-4.

<sup>9</sup> among the faithful.

<sup>10</sup> to grant these requests.

<sup>11</sup> The foremost existence is the time when deceit and its forces shall be destroyed and the rule of truth and good thinking shall reign in the world.

## Yasna 29

1. xšmaihyā gəuś urvā gərəždā      kahmāi mā θwarōzdūm kə mā taša!  
ā mā aēšərnā hazascā      rəmō (ā) hišāyā dərəšcā<sup>1</sup> təvišcā  
nōi! mōi vəštā xšma! anyō      aθā māi sqstā vohū vāstryā<sup>2</sup>
2. adā tašā gəuś pərəsa!      ašəm kaθā tōi gavōi ratuś  
hya! hīm dātā xšayantō      hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwa.xšō  
kəm hōi uštā ahurəm      yā drəgvō.dəbiš aēšəməm vādāyōi!
3. ahmāi ašcā nōi! sarəjā      advaēšō gavōi paiti.mrava!  
avaēšqm nōi! vīdhyē      yā šavaitē ādrəng ərašvājhō  
hātqm hvō aojištō      yalunāi zavəng jīmā kərədušā
4. mazdā sax'ārē mairištō      yā zi vāvərəzōi pairi.ciθi!  
daēvāišcā mašyāišcā      yācā varəšaitē aipi.ciθi!  
hvō vīcīrō ahurō      aθā nō agha! yaθā hvō vasa!
5. a! vā ustānāiš ahvā      zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā  
mō urvā gəuścā azyā      hya! mazdaqm dvaidi<sup>3</sup> frasābyō  
nōi! ərəžəjyāi frajyāitiš      nōi! fšnyentē drəgvasū pairi

<sup>1</sup> omit cā.<sup>2</sup> read vāstrā.<sup>3</sup> for dvaidi.



## Yasna 29\*

1. To all of you <sup>1</sup> the soul of the cow <sup>2</sup> lamented : *"For whom did ye shape me? Who fashioned me? (For) the cruelty of fury and violence, of bondage and might, holds me in captivity. I have no pastor other than you. Therefore appear to me with good pasturage"*.

2. Thereupon the fashioner of the cow <sup>3</sup> asked truth : *"Is thy judgment for the cow to be in this way? If ye ruling ones have placed her (on earth), there should always be cow-caring zeal by a pastor. Whom do ye wish to be her master, one who might destroy the fury (caused) by the deceitful?"*

3. To him they replied through truth : *"There is no help free of enmity for the cow. Of yonder beings, that strongest one is not to be found through whom the lofty are to activate the lowly<sup>4</sup>, to whom I of ready ear shall come at his calls"*.

4. *"The Wise One is the first to heed His agreements with both gods and men, those which He indeed openly brought about and those which He shall bring about in secret. He is the decisive Lord. As He shall wish it, so shall it be for us"*.

5. Thus <sup>5</sup>, indeed, did we two continue to pray to the Lord with outstretched hands — namely, my self and that of the fertile cow — that we might dispose the Wise One to the questions : *"Is there to be no future for the man who lives honestly? No future for the man who breeds cattle<sup>6</sup> among the deceitful?"*

\* The verses should properly follow the sequence 1-3, 6-9, 4-5, 10-11.

<sup>1</sup> *immortal ones*. Here Ahura Mazdā, truth, good thinking and the virtuous spirit are the personages addressed.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the good vision: cf. Y. 28, fn 2.

<sup>3</sup> The fashioner of the cow is the virtuous spirit.

<sup>4</sup> The lofty are the heavenly, immortal ones; the lowly are the mortals on earth.

<sup>5</sup> Namely, with the preceding prayer contained in verse 4.

<sup>6</sup> Metaphor for the truthful man who increases the flock of the faithful.

6. <sup>4</sup> aī ā<sup>4</sup> vazocai ahurō mazdā vīdvā vafrūš vyānayā  
 uōi aēvā ahū vīstō naēdā ratuš ašāteī hacā  
 aī zī θwā ššuyantaēcā vāstryāicā θwōrəštā tatašā
7. iēm āzūtōiš ahurō maθrām tašaī ašā hazaošō  
 mazdā gərvōi xšvīdāmcā hvō nrušaēihyō spəntō sāsnayā  
 kastē volhū manayhā yē ī dāyāī āēvā marətaēihyō
8. aēm mōi ulā vīstō yē nē aēvō sāsnā gūšatā  
 zaraθuštrō spitāmō hvō nē mazdā vašīī ašāicā  
 carəkarəθrā srāvayeyhē hyaī hōi hucləmēm dyāi<sup>5</sup> vaxədrahyā
9. aīcā gūuš urvā raostā yē anaēšəm<sup>6</sup> xšnqm mēne<sup>6</sup> rādəm  
 vācīm nərəš asūrahya yēm ā vasəunī īšā.xšaθrīm  
 kadā yavā hvō ayhaī yē hōi dūdaī zastavaī avō
10. yūšēm aēihyō ahurā aogō dāiā ašā xšaθrāmcā  
 avai volhū manayhā yā hušəitīš rāmqmcā dāī  
 azōmcī cihyā mazdā θwqm mōijhī paourvūm vaēdəm
11. kudā ašəm volucā manō xšaθrāmcā aī<sup>7</sup> mā mašā<sup>7</sup>  
 yūšēm mazdā frā.xšnənō<sup>8</sup> mazōi magāi.ā paiī.zānatā  
 ahurā nū nā avarō<sup>9</sup> šhmā rātōiš<sup>9</sup> yūšmāvatqm

<sup>4</sup> read aīš.<sup>5</sup> read dyā. for dīyā.<sup>6</sup> H<sub>1</sub>: read xšnqm mēnā.<sup>7</sup> read mqm ašā (\*mām ariā).<sup>8</sup> J<sub>2</sub>. Mī<sub>1</sub>.<sup>9</sup> read šhmā.rātōiš.

6. Thereupon the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of His attentiveness: *"A master has not been found by a single one (of us), nor a judgment which indeed befits truth. However, the shaper did fashion thee for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor"*<sup>7</sup>.

7. The Wise Lord, who is of the same temperament with truth, fashioned that promise of butter and milk<sup>8</sup> for the cow. He is virtuous to the needy in accord with His commandment. (He said :) *"Who has (been found) by thee, good thinking, who might give these things to the mortals below?"*

8. *"This"*<sup>9</sup> *one, Zarathustra Spitama, has been found by me here to be the only one who has given ear to our commandments. He wishes, Wise One, to recite hymns of commemoration for us and for truth, if he might receive for himself sweetness of speech"*.

9. But thereupon the soul of the cow wept: *"I who have recognized that my caretaker is powerless, (merely) the voice of a man without might, although I wish him to be one who possesses rule through power — when, during my lifetime, shall that person appear who shall give help and hand"*<sup>10</sup> *to him?"*

10. *"Lord"*<sup>11</sup>, *grant ye to these (mortals) strength and the rule of truth and of good thinking, by means of which one shall create peace and tranquility"*<sup>12</sup>. *I have indeed recognized the first possessor of this to be Thee, Wise One"*.

11. *"Where"*<sup>13</sup> *are truth and good thinking and where their rule? Yes, come ye now to me. Wise One, do ye acknowledge those fit for the great task! Lord, (come) now to us down here in consequence of our gift for you"*<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Metaphor for the truthful man who devotes his care to prospering the good vision.

<sup>8</sup> The promise of butter and milk refers to the preceding words of AhM, in verse 6 which reassure the cow that there will be those who will care for her. Butter and milk is a metaphor for strength and prosperity.

<sup>9</sup> Good thinking answers.

<sup>10</sup> That is, assistance.

<sup>11</sup> Zarathustra supplicates.

<sup>12</sup> That is, in place of the current cruelty, fury, violence, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Zarathustra continues.

<sup>14</sup> Namely, the gift of piety and faith.

## Yasna 30

1. *aṭ tā vaxšyā išəniō yā mazdāθā hyaṭciṭ vīdusē*  
*staotācā aṭurāi yesnyācā vaḡhāuš managhiō*  
*humqzdrāi <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> ašā yecā <sup>2</sup> yā raoēbīš darəsatā urvāzā*
2. *sraotā gəuš.āiš vahištā avaeuatā sūcā managhā*  
*āvarənā vīc'īθahyā narəni narəni x'alīyāi tanuyē*  
*parā mazē yāghō ahmāi uē <sup>3</sup> sazdyāi baodantō pairi*
3. *aṭ tā mainyū paouruyē yā yəmə x'aləfənā asrvātəni <sup>4</sup>*  
*manahicā <sup>5</sup> vacahicā šyaoθauōi hī vahyō akəmcū*  
*āscā hudāghō ərəš vīšyātā nōiṭ duzdāghō*
4. *aṭcā hyaṭ tā hēm mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē*  
*gaēmā ajyūitīmā yaθācā aḡhaṭ apətməni aḡhuš*  
*acištō drəgyatəm aṭ ašāunē vahištəm mauō*
5. *ayā mainivā varatā yā drəgvā acištā vərəzyō*  
*ašəm mainyūš spənīštō yā xraoždīštəng asənō vastē*  
*yaēcā xšnəošəni ahnrəni haiθyāiš šyaoθauāiš fraorəṭ mazdqm*
6. *ayā nōiṭ ərəš vīšyātā daēvācinā hyaṭ iš ā.dəbaoniā <sup>6</sup>*  
*pərəsmanəng upā.jasaṭ hyaṭ vərənātā acištəm mauō*  
*aṭ aēšətməm hənchārəutā yā hquayəni ahūm marətānō*

<sup>1</sup> L<sub>1</sub>.<sup>2</sup> read *ašāyecā*, from orig. *ašāyēcā*.<sup>3</sup> omit.<sup>4</sup> read *ā srvātəni*.<sup>5</sup> omit *cā*.<sup>6</sup> read *ā dəbaomā*.

## Yasna 30

1. (to the adherents). Yes, to those (of you) seeking<sup>1</sup>, I shall speak of those things which are to be borne in mind — even by one who already knows — through both praise and worship for the very Wise Master of good thinking and for truth, which things are to be looked upon in joy throughout your days.

2. Listen with your ears to the best things. Reflect with a clear mind — man by man for himself — upon the two choices of decision, being aware to declare yourselves to Him before the great retribution<sup>2</sup>.

3. Yes, there are two fundamental spirits, twins which are renowned to be in conflict. In thought and in word, in action, they are two: the good and the bad. And between these two, the beneficent have correctly chosen, not the maleficent.

4. Furthermore, when these two spirits first came together, they created life and death, and how, at the end, the worst existence shall be for the deceitful but the best thinking<sup>3</sup> for the truthful person.

5. Of these two spirits, the deceitful one chose to bring to realization the worst things. (But) the very virtuous spirit, who is clothed in the hardest stones<sup>4</sup>, chose the truth, and (so shall those<sup>5</sup>) who shall satisfy the Wise Lord continuously with true actions.

6. The gods<sup>6</sup> did not at all choose correctly between these two, since the deceptive one<sup>7</sup> approached them as they were deliberating. Since they chose the worst thought, they then rushed into fury, with which they have afflicted the world and mankind.

<sup>1</sup> *to know.*

<sup>2</sup> This is the time of the final judgment.

<sup>3</sup> Best thinking here is an abbreviation for the House of Best Thinking, a metaphor for heaven.

<sup>4</sup> Intention is that truth is enduring and unchanging like stone.

<sup>5</sup> *among you mortals.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Y. 32, fn 1.

<sup>7</sup> The evil spirit spoken of previously.

7. *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā vahū ašācā*  
*aṭ kəhrpānz utayūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš qnmā*  
*aēšqm tōi<sup>7</sup> ā aṭhaṭ yaθā ayaṭhā<sup>8</sup> ādānāiš paouruṇyō*
8. *aṭcā yadā aēšqm kaēnā jamaiti aēnaṭhqm*  
*aṭ mazdā t aibhyō xšaθrām vohū manayhā vāi.vīdaitē<sup>9</sup>*  
*aēibhyō sастē ahurā yōi ašāi dadān zastayō druḡim*
9. *aṭcā tōi vaēm hīyāmā yōi im fərašəm kərənaon ahūm*  
*mazdāscā ahurāyōhō ā.mōyastrā<sup>10</sup> baranā ašācā*  
*hyaṭ<sup>11</sup> haθrā manā<sup>11</sup> hvaṭ<sup>12</sup> yaθrā cistiš aṭhaṭ maēθā*
10. *adā zi avā druḡō (avō) hvaiti<sup>13</sup> skəndō spayaθrahyā*  
*aṭ asistā yaojanitē ā lušitōiš vaṭhōnš manayhō*  
*mazdā ašāhyācā yōi zastuti vaṭhān sravahi*
11. *hyaṭ tā urvūtā sašaθā yā mazdā dadāṭ inašyāyōhō*  
*x'itica dūaiti hyaṭcā darəḡdīm drəḡvō.dəhyō rašō*  
*savacā ašervahyō aṭ aipī tāiš aṭhaiti nštā*

<sup>7</sup> read *pōi*.

<sup>8</sup> omit.

<sup>9</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, cf. *vōivīdaitē* J<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> read *ā mōi (a)stā*.

<sup>11</sup> read *haθrā.manā*.

<sup>12</sup> Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>2</sub>, etc.

<sup>13</sup> J<sub>2</sub>.

7. But to this world He<sup>8</sup> came with the rule of good thinking and of truth, and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath (to it). He shall be here for the protection of these (faithful), just as He shall be the first (to do so) during the requitals with the (molten) iron<sup>9</sup>.

8. (to the Wise Lord). And thus, when the punishment for these sinners shall come to pass, then, for Thee, Wise One, shall the rule of good thinking be at hand, in order to be announced to those, Lord, who shall deliver deceit into the hands of truth.

9. Therefore may we be those who shall heal this world! Wise One and ye other lords, be present to me with support and with truth, so that one shall become convinced even where his understanding shall be false<sup>10</sup>.

10. For then shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit, and there shall be yoked from the good dwelling place of good thinking<sup>11</sup> the swiftest steeds<sup>12</sup>, which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth.

11. (to the adherents). Men, when ye learn those commandments which the Wise One has posed, when ye learn (there is) both a way of easy access and one with no access, as well as long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful, then each one (of you) shall abide by (all) these commandments. Wish it so.

<sup>8</sup> Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord.

<sup>9</sup> The test of truth during the final judgment.

<sup>10</sup> *concerning our ultimate goal.*

<sup>11</sup> Metaphor for the community of the faithful and the truthful.

<sup>12</sup> Metaphor for the faithful and truthful themselves.

## Yasna 31

1. *tā vā urvātāi maraūtō agnītā vacā sēnghāmahī*  
*aēibyō yōi urvātāiš drījō aśahyā gaēθā vīnəraucaitē*  
*aīciī aēibyō valīštā yōi zrazdā aīhəu mazdāi*
2. *yēzi āiš nō ī urvānē achvā<sup>1</sup> aīhī.dəraštā valīyā*  
*aī vā vīspəng āyōi<sup>2</sup> yaθā ratūm ahurō vāēdā*  
*mazdā ayē qəyā yā aśāī hucā jvāmahī*
3. *yəm dā mairinyū āθrācā aśācā cōiš rānōiḥyā xšnūtəm*  
*hyaī urvatəm cazdōnghvacəhyō taī nō mazdā vīdvanōi vaocā*  
*hīzvā θwatīyā āyḥō yā jvantō vīspəng vāurayā*
4. *yadā aśəm zəvīm<sup>3</sup> aīhəu mazdāscā ahurāyḥō*  
*aśicā ārməitī valīštā īśasā<sup>4</sup> manayḥā*  
*maiḥyō xšəθrəm aōjōnghvaī yehyā vərəcā vauaēimā drujīm*
5. *taī mōi vīcīhyāi vaocā hyaī mōi aśā dātā valīyō*  
*vīdhyē volū manayḥā mōucā daidyāi yehyā mā ərašiš*  
*tāciī mazdā ahurā yā nōi vā aīhaī aīhaiī vā*
6. *ahunāi aīhaī valīštəm yā mōi vīdvā vaocāī haiθim*  
*məθrəm yīm haurvatātō aśahyā aməratātascā*  
*mazdāi avəī xšəθrəm hyaī hōi volū vaxšāī manayḥā*

<sup>1</sup> read *advā*.<sup>2</sup> for *ā.īyōi*.<sup>3</sup> read *zəvyā*, for orig. *zuvīyā*.<sup>4</sup> read *īśā*.



## Yasna 31

1. (to the immortal ones). Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words<sup>1</sup> which have gone unheard by those who, by reason of the commandments of deceit, continue to destroy the creatures of truth, but indeed are the best words for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One.

2. (to the adherents). If the better course for the soul has not been seen through these words, then let me lead all of you in which way the Wise Lord knows (to exist) that judgment between the two alternatives by which we are going to live in accordance with truth.

3. (to the Wise Lord). That satisfaction which Thou hast created for both factions<sup>2</sup> together with Thy spirit and hast promised (to them) through fire and truth<sup>3</sup>, that commandment which is for Thy adherents — speak, Wise One, with the tongue of Thine own mouth, in order for us to know (all) that, by means of which I might convert all the living.

4. (to the adherents). When I might call upon truth, the Wise One and the other lords<sup>4</sup> shall appear; also reward and piety. (And) through the very best thinking I shall seek for myself their rule of strength, through whose growth we might conquer deceit.

5. (to the Wise Lord). Speak Thou, in order for me to discern that very good thing which has been created for me by truth, in order for me to know and to bear in mind with good thinking (that thing) of which I am to be the seer. Even those things, Wise Lord, which either shall not be or shall be.

6. (to the adherents). The best shall be for him, the knowing man, who shall tell me the real precept concerning the truth of His completeness and immortality: *"Such is the rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking"*.

<sup>1</sup> of your precepts.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, the truthful and the deceitful.

<sup>3</sup> That is, at the time of the final judgment.

<sup>4</sup> Here, truth and good thinking.

7. *yastā mantā paouruyō raocēbīs rōiθwəṇ x'āθrā*  
*hvō xraθwā dāmīs ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahištəm manā*  
*tā mazdā mairinyū uxšyō yā ā nūrāmcīṭ ahurā hāmō*
8. *aṭ θwā mānghi paourvīm mazdā yazūm stōi manayhā*  
*vayhāuš ptarēm<sup>5</sup> manayhō hyaṭ θwā hām cašmainī (hān) grabəm*  
*haiθim ašaHyā dāmim aghāuš ahurəm šyaoθanaēšū*
9. *θwōi as ārmaitiš θwā ā gəuš tašā<sup>6</sup> as xratuš<sup>6</sup>*  
*mainyuš<sup>7</sup> mīazdā ahurā hyaṭ ahvāi dadā paθqm*  
*vāstryāṭ vā āitē<sup>8</sup> yā vā nōiṭ aghaṭ vāstryō*
10. *aṭ hī ayā fravaratā vāstrīm ahvāi šnyantəm*  
*ahurəm ašcavanəm vayhāuš šdānghīm manayhō*  
*nōiṭ mazdā avāstryō dāvqscinā<sup>9</sup> hunarətōiš baxštā*
11. *hyaṭ nā mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā*  
*θwā manayhā xratūscā hyaṭ astvantəm dadā nštanəm*  
*hyaṭ šyaoθamācū sđnghqscū yaθrā varənāng vasā dāycetē*
12. *aθrā vācīm haraiti nūθahvacā vā əraš.vacā vā*  
*vīdvā vā əvīdvā vā ahvā zərādācū manayhācū*  
*āmuš.haxš.ərmaitiš mainyū parāsāitē<sup>10</sup> yaθrā maēθā*

<sup>5</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>1,2</sub>, etc.

<sup>6</sup> read *aš.xratuš*.

<sup>7</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>1,2</sub>, etc.

<sup>8</sup> for *ā.itē*.

<sup>9</sup> for *duvqscinā*

<sup>10</sup> K<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>2</sub>.

7. He who first thought thus, "*They are to be joined with happiness throughout their days*", He created truth in accordance with this very intention, by reason of which He has (also) upheld the very best thinking.

(to the Wise Lord). Through this spirit<sup>5</sup>, Wise One, Thou art to grow, Thou who, up to now indeed, hast been the same, Lord.

8. Yes, although Thou art the First One, I realized Thee to be (ever) young in mind, Wise One, when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking, the real Creator of truth, (and) the Lord of existence in Thy actions.

9. Thine was to be piety, Thine the fashioner of the cow, namely, that spirit of great determination, when Thou didst grant the way to her<sup>6</sup> to go either (to him who) shall act as pastor<sup>7</sup> or (to him) who shall not be pastor (for her).

10. And, of these two, she<sup>6</sup> chose for herself the cattle-breeding pastor to be her truthful master (and) the cultivator of good thinking<sup>8</sup>. Wise One, never did the non-pastor share the friendship of her who requires good attention.

11. Since Thou, Wise One, at the beginning, didst fashion for us by Thy thinking creatures and conceptions and intentions, since Thou didst create body and breath, since (Thou didst create) both actions and words, (all these things) whereby a person with volition<sup>9</sup> expresses his preferences,

12. Therefore one raises his voice in accord with both his heart and his mind, be he false-speaking or true-speaking, be he knowing or unknowing. (But) in due course, piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition.

<sup>5</sup> That is, through this very same spirit among men allied with truth and good thinking in this world.

<sup>6</sup> The cow, i.e. the good vision.

<sup>7</sup> The truthful man.

<sup>8</sup> Good thinking among men is 'the pasture which sustains the cow' in the human world.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the man who is free to act: one who is not a slave and subservient to the will of another.

13. *yā frasā ā višyā yā vā mazdā pərəsaiitē<sup>11</sup> iayā*  
*yā vā kasəuš aēnaghō ā mazištqm (a)yamaite būjim*  
*tā cašmāng θwisrā hārā aibi ašā (aibi).vaēuahī višpā*
14. *tā θwā pərəsā ahurā yā zī āiti<sup>12</sup> jōnghaticā*  
*yā išudō dādautē dāθrauqm hacā ašāmnō*  
*yāscā mazdā drəgvō.dəbyō yaθā tā aghəu hānkəratā hya!*
15. *pərəsā ava! yā naēniš yā drəgvāitē xsəθrəm huiāiti*  
*duš.šyaoθanāi ahurā yā nāi! jyātūm hanarə vīnasti*  
*vāstryehyā aēnaghō pasəuš vīrāa!cā adrujyantiō*
16. *pərəsā ava! yaθā hvō yā ludānuš dəmanahyā xsəθrəm*  
*šāiθrahvā vā dahiγəuš vā ašā<sup>13</sup> fradaθāi aspərəzatā<sup>13</sup>*  
*θwāvax mazdā ahurā yadā hvō agha! yā.šyaoθanascā*
17. *katārēm ašuvā vā drəgvā vā vərənvaitē mazyā*  
*vīdvā vīdušc nraotū mā əvidvā aipi dāhāvaya!<sup>14</sup>*  
*zdi nā mazdā ahurā vaγhəuš fradaxštā managhō*
18. *mā.ciš<sup>15</sup> ci! vā drəgvatō nuθraqscā gūštā sāsnašcā*  
*āzi dāmāman višəm vā šōiθrəm vā dahiγūm vā (ā)dā!*  
*dušitācā marakaēcā aθā iš sāzdūm snaiθišā*
19. *gūštā yā mantā ašəm alūm.biš vīdvā ahurā*  
*əṛəxəδāi vacaγhqm xšayamnā hizvā vasō*  
*θwā āθrā snxrā mazdā vaγhāu vīdātā rquayā*

<sup>11</sup> K<sub>3</sub>. H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> read ā.āiti or ā.āiti.

<sup>13</sup> read fradaθāi.ā spərəzatā.

<sup>14</sup> read hāvaya!.

<sup>15</sup> read naēciš.

13. The open deliberation and the one which is deliberated in secret, o Wise One, the person guilty of a small offense (and the one who) shall receive a very great punishment — regarding with clarity of vision, Thou dost look upon all these things with truth.

14. I ask Thee, Lord, about those things which indeed are coming and shall come, namely, about which of the payments shall be taken as claims from the truthful and which from the deceitful, Wise One, and about how they shall appear when their readiness is at hand.

15. Likewise, I ask about which payments shall be (for him) who shall promote the rule for the deceitful one of evil actions<sup>10</sup>, Lord, for that one who finds no means of living apart from harming the cattle and men of the undeceiving pastor.

16. Likewise, I ask about how that person shall be, namely, the blessed one<sup>11</sup> who shall be eager to prosper the rule of the house or of the district or of the land with truth, and about when he — someone like Thee, Wise Lord — shall appear and with which actions.

17. (Tell) which of the two? Does the truthful man or the deceitful one turn to what is more important? Let the Knowing One<sup>12</sup> speak to the knowing, (but) let not the unknowing person participate. Be for us, Wise Lord, the revealer of good thinking.

18. No one at all who belongs to the deceitful (faction) has listened to your precepts and instructions. For such a person has (already) placed house and settlement and district and land in strife and destruction. Therefore cut these down with your weapon.

19. This knowing world-healer<sup>13</sup> has listened, he who has respected the truth, Lord, being one who has mastery over his tongue at will for the true speaking of the (proper) words when the distribution in the good shall occur to both factions through Thy bright fire<sup>14</sup>, Wise One.

<sup>10</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>11</sup> The savior, the faithful man who is the incarnation of truth in this world.

<sup>12</sup> Intended is Ahura Mazdā himself.

<sup>13</sup> Namely, Zarathustra.

<sup>14</sup> At the time of the final judgment.

20. *yā āyaŋ ašavanəm divamnəm<sup>16</sup> hōi aparəm xšayō<sup>17</sup>*  
*darəgəm ā yū təmaŋhō duš.x'arəθəm avaēiās vacō*  
*təm vā ahīm drəgvantō šyaoθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaŋ*
21. *mazdā dādāŋ ahurō haurvatō aməraetāscā*  
*būrōiš ā ašaiyācā x'āpaiθyāŋ xšaθrahyā sarō*  
*vayhāus vaxdvarē manayhō yā hōi mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō*
22. *cīθrā i hucdāŋhē yaθənā vaēdammāi manayhā*  
*volū hvō xšaθrā ašəm vacayhā šyaoθanācā hapti*  
*hvō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aŋhaini astiš*

<sup>16</sup> read *dyumnəm*.

<sup>17</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.

20. *"Heavenliness<sup>15</sup> shall be the future possession of him who shall come to a truthful person (now)<sup>16</sup>. (But) a long lifetime of dorkness, foul food, the word woe — to such an existence shall your conception, along with its (corresponding) actions, lead you, ye deceitful ones"*.

21. *"The Wise Lord, in consequence of His abounding authority of rule over completeness and immortality and over truth, shall give the permanence of good thinking's alliance to him, the one who is His ally in spirit and actions"*.

22. These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking. He serves truth, during his rule, with good word and good action. Such a person shall be Thy most welcome guest, Wise Lord.

<sup>15</sup> These next two verses are citations from Ahura Mazdā's own words. They are the precepts mentioned in verses 18 and 19.

<sup>16</sup> Namely, for instruction in these truths.

## Yasna 32

1. *ahyācā xʷaētīš yāsaṭ*      *ahyā vərəzənanəm maṭ airyanmā*  
*ahyā daēvā mahmī manōi*      *ahurahyā urvāzamā mazdā*  
*θwōi dūtātjḥō ājḥāmā*      *tāng dārayō yōi vā daibīšanti*
2. *aēihyō mazdā ahurō*      *sāramuō volū manayhā*  
*xšaθrāṭ haxcā paiti.mraoṭ*      *ašā huiš.haxā xʷānvātā*  
*spantqm vā ārmaitīm*      *vañjhim varəmaidi hā nā aṇhaṭ*
3. *aṭ yūš daēvā višpājḥō*      *akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram*  
*yascā vā maš yazaitē*      *drūjascā pairi.maiθīscā*  
*šyaomqm aipi daibitānā*      *yāiš asrūdūm<sup>1</sup> hūmyā haptaiθē*
4. *yāaṭ yūštā framīmaθā<sup>2</sup>*      *yā mašyā acīštā dantō*  
*vaxšantē daēvō.zuštā*      *vañjīnš siždyanmā manayhō*  
*mazdā ahurahyā*      *xratīnš nasyantō ašāaṭcā*
5. *tā dāhənaotā mašīm*      *hujyātōiš amərətātascā*  
*hyaṭ vā akā manayhā*      *yāng daēvāng akascā mainyuš*  
*akā šyaəθanəm vacayhā*      *yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō*
6. *pouru aēnā ānāxštā*      *yāiš srāvahyeiti yezi tāiš aθā*  
*hātā.marānē<sup>3</sup> ahurā*      *vahištā vōištā manayhā*  
*θwalmī vā mazdā xšaθrōi*      *ašāicā sānghō vidqm*

<sup>1</sup> read *ā srūdūm*.<sup>2</sup> read *framīmāθā*.<sup>3</sup> read *hātqm arānē*.



## Yasna 32

1. (to the gods). At my insistence, ye gods<sup>1</sup>, the family, the community together with the clan<sup>2</sup>, entreated for the grace of Him, the Wise Lord, (saying :) *"Let us be Thy messengers, in order to hold back those who are inimical to you"*.

2. To them did the Wise Lord reply, as befits His rulership, He who is allied with good thinking and the good companion of sunlike truth: *"We have chosen your good and virtuous piety. It shall be Ours"*.

3. But ye gods — as well as the one who worships you — all of you are the offspring stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect. Hateful, too, are your actions, by reason of which ye have become renowned in this seventh part of the earth<sup>3</sup>.

4. Insofar as ye authorize these actions, which the worst mortals (then) serve, those agreeable to (you) the gods shall increase, as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth.

5. In this way ye have deceived mankind out of the good way of life and immortality, much as ye have deceived yourselves, the gods, (of it) by such evil thinking, and the evil spirit himself. Your action is allied with evil words, by reason of which the Ruler has marked the deceitful person<sup>4</sup>.

6. (to the Wise Lord). Shameful are the many sins by which one attains fame, if at all by such things. (But) Thou knowest, Lord, (only) when there is uplifting of beings with the very best thinking, fame is to serve Thee and the truth, Wise One, under Thy rule.

<sup>1</sup> By 'gods' Z. refers to those other divinities who stand outside of the system formed by Ahura Mazdā and his forces, and who are worshiped by the proponents of the old, traditional religious system now so fully enveloped by deceit.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the whole society of the truthful.

<sup>3</sup> The area inhabited by the Aryans.

<sup>4</sup> for future damnation.

7. *aēšqm aēnahqm naēciṭ vīdvā aojōi hādrōyā<sup>4</sup>*  
*yā jāyā<sup>5</sup> sēnghaiē yāiš srāvi x'aēnā ayayhā*  
*yaēšqm tū ahurā irixtəm mazdā vaēdištō ahi*
8. *aēšqm aēnahqm vīvayhušō srāvi yimasciṭ*  
*yā mašyāng cixšnušō alimākēng gāuš bagā x'ārānuuō*  
*aēšqmcīṭ ā ahuni θwahunī mazdā viciθōi aipi*
9. *duš.sastiš sravā mōrandaṭ hvō jyāiēuš sēnghaiēuš xratīm*  
*apō mā īštūn (apa)yamū hərəxδənu haiitūn<sup>6</sup> vayhāuš manayhō*  
*tā uxδā mahyūuš mahyū mazdā ašāicā yūšmaihyā gərəzē*
10. *hvā mā nā sravā mōrandaṭ yā acištəm vaēnahjē aogadā*  
*gqm ašihyā hvarēcā yascā dāθēng drəgvatō dadāṭ*  
*yascā vāstrā vīvāpaṭ yascā vadurē vōiždaṭ ašāuniē*
11. *taēciṭ mā mōrāndənu jyōitūu yōi drəgvantō mazbiš<sup>7</sup> cikōitərəš*  
*ayuhīscā ayhavasā apayēitī raēxənahjō vaēdənu*  
*yōi vahištāṭ ašaouō mazdā rārəšyqn manayhō*
12. *yā rāyhaγəu sravayhā vahištāṭ šyaoθamāṭ marətiānō*  
*aēihyō mazdā akā uraoṭ yōi gəuš niārandənu urvāxš.uxti jyōitūm*  
*yāiš grāhmā<sup>8</sup> ašāṭ varatā karapā xšaθramcā īsauqm drijim*

<sup>4</sup> read *hādrāyā*.

<sup>5</sup> read *jūyā*, for orig. *jīvyā*.

<sup>6</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.

<sup>8</sup> read *grāhmā*.

7. By reason of his correct conduct, a knowing person is never accused of those sins which are decreed to be capital, for which one has (already) been tried by molten iron, and of which Thou, Wise Lord, art the One who dost best know the consequences <sup>5</sup>.

8. Even Yama <sup>6</sup>, the son of Vivahvant, was tried for these sins, he who wanted to satisfy our men (by) swearing: "*The cow is goddess*" <sup>7</sup>. If I, too, am guilty of these sins, Wise One, lies in Thy judgment.

9. The one of evil doctrine <sup>8</sup> has ruined the (true) words. He has ruined the intention of life by his own teachings. He has robbed the esteemed power which really belongs to good thinking. I lament these words of my spirit (to Thee), Wise One, and to truth — to all of you!

10. Each such man has (also) ruined Thy teachings: the one who has professed the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his eyes <sup>9</sup>; the one who has set the deceitful against the just; the one who has cut down the pastures <sup>10</sup>; the one who has raised a weapon to the truthful man.

11. Those deceitful ones who appear in grandeur as lords and ladies, even they have ruined this life by stealing the property of the (true) inheritor, (as well as those) who have tried to deflect the truthful from the very best thinking.

12. By reason of that teaching with which they deflected men from the best action, the Wise Lord spoke of bad things for them <sup>11</sup>, for those who have ruined the life of the cow <sup>12</sup> with their habit of pleasure, and because of whom the rich Karpan <sup>13</sup> chose the rule of tyrants and deceit rather than truth.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the punishment to be wrought at the final judgment.

<sup>6</sup> Yama was the first mortal and king during the golden age of mankind.

<sup>7</sup> The cow here is not the good vision but the earth, which was worshiped as a goddess by the Aryans.

<sup>8</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>9</sup> This expression means 'to remain alive'.

<sup>10</sup> Namely, those of truth and good thinking.

<sup>11</sup> Namely, at the final judgment.

<sup>12</sup> Here the cow is both the earth and the good vision.

<sup>13</sup> A class of traditional priests.

13. *yā xšaθrā grāhmō hīsaṣaṣ*<sup>9</sup> *acištaḥyā dāmānē manayhō*  
*aṇhāuṣ mair-əxtārō*<sup>10</sup> *ahyā yaēcā mazdā jīgərəzaṣ kāmē*  
*θwahyā mæθrānā dūtīm yā īs pāṣ darəsāṣ aśahyā*
14. *ahyā grāhmāō ā.hōiθāi mī kāvayasciṣ xratūṣ (mī).dadaṣ*  
*varəcā.hicā*<sup>11</sup> *fraidivā hyaṣ viśāntā dragvantəm avō*  
*hyaṣcā gāuṣ jaidyāi mraoī*<sup>12</sup> *yā dūraoṣəm saocayay avō*
15. *anāiṣ ā vi.izdnuāsā yā karapō.tāscā kəvitāscā*  
*ayāiṣ aibi xāng dainti nōiṣ jyātānṣ xšayamnuṣg vasā*  
*tōi āhyā*<sup>13</sup> *hairyānē vaṇhāuṣ ā dāmānē manayhō*
16. *hamām taṣ valīštāciṣ yā nšurnyē syasciṣ dahmahyā*  
*xšayəṣ mazdā alurā yehyā mā aiθīsciṣ dvaēθā*  
*hyaṣ uēnahyē dragvatō ādānū iṣyāng aṇhāyā*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> read *hīsaṣ*.

<sup>10</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>3</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.

<sup>11</sup> read *varəcahicā*.

<sup>12</sup> read *mruyē*. For orig. *mruvōi*.

<sup>13</sup> read *a(i)hī ā*.

<sup>14</sup> K<sub>10</sub>, L<sub>2</sub>. from orig. *āṇhāya(i)yā*.

13. Because of such (evil) rule, the destroyers of this world viewed their riches in the House of Worst Thinking<sup>14</sup>. Also those who complained, in their lust<sup>15</sup>, about the message of Thy prophet, Wise One, a lust which did guard them from the sight of truth.

14. Even the Kavis<sup>16</sup> have continually fixed their intentions on capturing and plundering the riches of this world, since they have begun to aid the deceitful one<sup>17</sup> and to say: "*The cow<sup>18</sup> is to be killed (for him) who has been kindling the Haoma<sup>19</sup> ...*".

15. Because of these things, the class of Karpans is disappearing, and the Kavis, along with those they ensnare. They shall not be brought to those who rule over life at will in the House of Good Thinking<sup>20</sup>.

16. This is equal to the best<sup>21</sup> indeed (for him) who surely lies in the ... of the Wondrous One. Wise Lord, (may I) have mastery over each person whose threat is surely inimical to me, if I am to capture the deceitful for their harm against the worthy.

<sup>14</sup> That is, hell.

<sup>15</sup> for riches.

<sup>16</sup> A class of rulers, the princes of the lands.

<sup>17</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>18</sup> Here the good vision.

<sup>19</sup> The intoxicating drink which formed the sacrament in the worship of the traditional gods.

<sup>20</sup> That is, heaven.

<sup>21</sup> Namely, to be brought to heaven.

## Yasna 33

1. *yaθā āiṣ iθā varəšaite*      *yā dātā aṣhānš paouruṇehiyā*  
*ratus<sup>1</sup> śyaoθauā razīštā*      *drəgvataēcā hyaieā ašaonē*  
*yehyā hōmryōsaiē<sup>2</sup>*      *mīθahiyā yācā hōi ārazvā*
2. *aī yā akərm drəgvāitē*      *vacayhā vā aī vā manayhā*  
*zastōihyā vā varəšaitī*      *vayhāu vā cōiθaitē astim*  
*iōi vārāi rādāuī*      *ahurahyā zaosē mazdā*
3. *yā ašāunē vahistō*      *xʷaētū vā aī vā vərəzənyō*  
*airyamunā vā ahurā*      *vidys vā θwaxšayhā gavōi*  
*aī hvō ašehiyā aghaī*      *vayhōnšcā vāstrē manayhō*
4. *yā θwaī mazdā asruštīm*      *akəmcā manō yazāi apā*  
*xʷaētōnšcā tarəmaītīm*      *vərəzənahiyācā nazdištqm drijim*  
*airyamamascā nadəuō*      *gəuščā vāstrāī acīštəm mantīm*
5. *yastē vīspā.mazīštəm*      *səraosəm zbayā avayhānē*  
*apānō<sup>3</sup> darəgō.jyāitīm<sup>4</sup>*      *ā xšaθrəm vayhōnš manayhō*  
*ašāī ā vərəzūš paθō*      *yaēšū mazdā ahurō šaēitī*
6. *yā zaotā ašā vərəzūš*      *hvō mainyōnš ā vahistāī kayā*  
*ahmāī avā manayhā*      *yā vərəzəyeidyāi manu vāstryā*  
*tā iōi izyā ahurā*      *mazdā darəštōišcā hōm.parštōišcā*

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>, etc.<sup>2</sup> Lb<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, etc.: read *hām.vasaētē*.<sup>3</sup> read *apā nō (nā)*.<sup>4</sup> read *darəgō.jyāitī*.

## Yasna 33

1. (to the adherents). As in harmony with those things which are the laws of the foremost existence<sup>1</sup>, the (final) judgment thus shall bring to realization the most just actions for the deceitful as well as for the truthful man, and for the person for whom falsity and honesty are held to be indifferent.

2. Therefore, who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one<sup>2</sup> either by word or by thought, or with his hands, or who shall enlighten his guest in the good — all these shall bring success to His desire and be in the approval of the Wise Lord.

3. (to the Wise Lord). The person who is very good to a truthful man, be he allied by family, or a member of his community, or allied by clan, Lord, or be he someone who continues to serve the cow<sup>3</sup> with zeal, such a person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking.

4. Wise One, (it is) I who, through worship, shall turn away disobedience and bad thinking from Thee, and opposition from the family, and the nearest deceit of the community, and scorers from the clan, and the worst counselor<sup>4</sup> from the pasture of the cow<sup>5</sup>.

5. I who, at the stopping (of these), shall summon the all-greatest obedience for Thee, I shall attain for us here the long-lived rule of good thinking and the paths, straight in accord with truth, wherein the Wise Lord dwells.

6. The priest who is just in harmony with truth is the offspring from the best spirit. In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties. By reason of this very thinking, Wise Lord, I am eager for Thy sight and Thy counsel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y. 28. fn 11.

<sup>2</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>3</sup> The good vision.

<sup>4</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>5</sup> Metaphor for the community of the faithful and truthful.

7. *ā mā (ā) icēnū valhištā ā x'aiθyācā mazdā darəšaŋcā*  
*ašā volū nrauaŋhā yā srūyē parə magaouō*  
*āviš nā anr arə hēntū nəma x'aiitš ciθrā rātaŋō*
8. *frō mōi (fīra) vōidēn arəθā tā yā volū šyavāi manayhā*  
*yasuəm niczdā xsmāvatō aŋ vā ašā staomyā vacā*  
*dātā vā anraəratāscū utayūitī haurvatās draonō*
9. *aŋ tōi mazdā iēm mainyūn ašao xšayantā sarəidyayā*  
*x'āθrā <sup>5</sup> maēθā mayā <sup>5</sup> valhištā barəi manayhā*  
*ayā ārōi hētkuranəm yayā hacintē urvquō*
10. *višpā.stōi <sup>6</sup> hujitayō yā zī āgharə yāscā hēnti*  
*yāscā mazdā hvaintī <sup>7</sup> θwahmi hīš zaošē ābaxšō.hvā*  
*volū uxšyētī manayhā xšaθrā ašācā uštātənūn <sup>8</sup>*
11. *yā səvištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitiścā*  
*ašəmcā frēdaŋ.gəēθəm manascā volū xšaθrəmcā*  
*sraotā mōi nərəzdātā mōi ādāi kahyācētī paiti*
12. *us mōi (uz) ārəšvā ahurā ārmaiti təvišim dasvā*  
*spəništā mainyūn mazdā vaŋhuyā zavō ādā*  
*ašā hazō ŋmavaŋ volū manayhā jsəratūn*
13. *raŋdōrāi vourncasānē dōištī mōi yā vō abifrā*  
*iā xšaθrahyā ahurā yā vaŋhəuš ašiš manayhō*  
*frō spəntā ārmaiti <sup>9</sup> ašā daēnā (fra) daxšayā*
14. *aŋ rātqm zaraθuštrō tanvaseēt x'alīyā uštənəm*  
*dadāitī pəurvatātəm manayhascā vaŋhəuš mazdāi*  
*šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxdalīyācā səraošəm xšaθrəmcā*

<sup>5</sup> read *maēθā mayā*.

<sup>6</sup> read *višpās iōi*.

<sup>7</sup> S<sub>1</sub>: cf. *hvaintī* MΓ<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, MΓ<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>: read *ārmaiti*.



7. Come hither to me, ye best ones. Hither, both personally and boldly — Thou, Wise One, together with truth and good thinking — by reason of which I am to be famed before (every other) adherent. Let bright gifts and reverence (for all of you) be manifest amid us.

8. Take ye heed of these goals of mine, which I shall enact with good thinking: worship of all of you, Wise One, and words praiseworthy with truth. Your enduring worshipful offering has been established to be immortality and completeness<sup>6</sup>.

9. Yes, for Thee, Wise One, let a person support with good thinking the very spirit of these two companions<sup>7</sup> who increase truth through that happiness consisting of change<sup>8</sup>. The association of these two has already arisen<sup>9</sup>, under whom (all) souls are in harmony.

10. All those (beings) whose way of life is good for Thee — those who have been, and those who are, and those who shall be — give them a share in Thy approval, Wise One. (And) grow Thyself, in breath and body, through the rule of good thinking and of truth.

11. The Wise One who is the Mightiest Lord, and piety, and truth which prospers the creatures, and good thinking, and (good) rule — listen to me, have mercy on me, when there is any requital.

12. Rise up to me, Lord. Along with Thy most virtuous spirit, Wise One, receive force through (our) piety, strength through (every) good requital, powerful might through truth, protection through (our) good thinking.

13. Lord of broad vision, disclose to me for support the safeguards of your rule, those which are the reward for good thinking. Reveal to me, by reason of my virtuous piety, those conceptions in harmony with truth.

14. For Zarathustra does give the breath of even his own person as a gift, in order that there be for the Wise One predominance of good thinking along with (predominance) of the action and the word allied with truth, that there be obedience and His (good) rule.

<sup>6</sup> That is, granted by the good thinking and piety of the truthful man.

<sup>7</sup> These are most probably good thinking and piety.

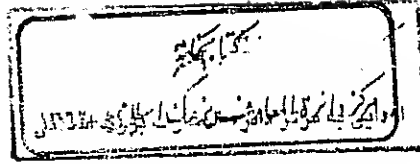
<sup>8</sup> *in this world*. That is, the change brought about by the healing of the world currently afflicted by the ways of deceit.

<sup>9</sup> *among Thy followers*.

## Yasna 34

1. yā šyaoθanā yā vacayhā yā yasnā anəwətaiatəni  
ašəničā taihyē dāyhā mazdā xšaθrəničā haurvatātō  
aēšqm tōi ahurā āhunā pourutəniš dastē
2. aycā ī tōi matayhā mainyēnišcā vahhūš vīspā dātā  
spəntaīyācā nərəš šyaoθanā yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē  
pairigaēθē xšnāvatō valunē mazdā garōhiš stūtm
3. aī tōi myazdəm ahurā nəmayhā ašāicā dāmā  
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi yā volū θraoštā manayhā  
ārōi<sup>1</sup> zī lucdāyhu vīspāiš mazdā xšnāvasū savō
4. aī tōi ātrəm ahurā aojōghvantəm ašā usdīnati  
asīstəm āmavəntəm stōi rapantē ciθrā.avaighəni  
aī mazdā daihišyanti zastāišiāiš dərəštā.əēnəghəm
5. kaī vā xšaθrəni kā īstīš šyaoθanāi mazdā yaθā vā ahmī<sup>2</sup>  
ašā volū matayhā θrāyōidyāi drīgūm yūsmākəm  
parā vā vīspāiš (parā).vaoxənā dāēvāišcā xrafstrāiš nūšyāišcā
6. yezī aθā stā huiθim mazdā ašā volū manayhā  
aī tōi dāxštəm dātā ahyā aghūš vīspā maēθā  
yaθā vā yazəmnascā urvāidyā stavas ayeuī paitī
7. kuθrā tōi arədrā mazdā yōi vahhūš vaēdəuā manayhō  
sānglūš raēxəuā aspəncī sādrcī caxrayō ušəurū  
nəēcīm tən anyəm yūšmaī vaēdā ašā aθā nā θrāzdūm

<sup>1</sup> read arōi.<sup>2</sup> S<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub>, etc.



## Yasna 34

1. By whichever action, by whichever word, by whichever worship, Wise One, Thou didst receive for Thyself immortality, truth, and mastery over completeness, let these very things be given by us to Thee, Lord, in the very greatest number.

2. Moreover, all these things have been granted to Thee by the (correct) thinking stemming from good spirit, by the action of the virtuous man whose soul is in alliance with truth, (and) by songs of praise (sung) in universal glory of your kind, Wise One.

3. Therefore, let us reverently give an offering <sup>1</sup> to Thee, Lord, and to truth, all of us creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking. Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent man by all those among your kind, Wise One!

4. Now, we wish Thy fire, Lord, which possesses strength through truth and which is the swiftest, forceful thing, to be of clear help to Thy supporter but of visible harm, with the powers in its hands, to Thy enemy, Wise One.

5. Have ye the mastery, have ye the power, Wise One, for the act to protect your needy dependent — as I indeed am — with truth and with good thinking? We have said that ye are above all others. be they fierce gods or mortals.

6. If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking — then give ye that sign to me through every change of this world <sup>2</sup>, so that I shall very happily approach all of you, as I worship and praise.

7. Wise One, where are those sincere ones who, through their possession of good thinking, make even immoral decrees and painful legacies disappear? I know none other than you. Therefore protect us in accord with truth.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the one true offering of piety and good thinking.

<sup>2</sup> for the better.

8. *tāiš zi ná šy-aοθanāiš hyaini<sup>3</sup> yaēšū as pairi pouruhyō iθyejō*  
*hya<sup>4</sup> as aοjā<sup>4</sup> nāidyāghəm θwahyā mazdā qstā urvātalhyā*  
*yōi nōi<sup>4</sup> ašəən mainyanā aēihyō dūirē vohū as manō*
9. *yōi spəntam<sup>4</sup> ārmaitīm θwahyā mazdā bərəxδqm vidušō*  
*duš šyaoθairā avazaza<sup>4</sup> vaighāuš avisti manayhō*  
*aēihyō maš ašā syazda<sup>4</sup> yava<sup>4</sup> alma<sup>4</sup> aurimā xrafstrā*
10. *ahyā vaighāuš manayhō šyaoθanā vaoca<sup>4</sup> gərəbqm huxratuš*  
*spəntamcā ārmaitīm dqmīm vīdvā hiθqm ašahyā*  
*tācā vīspā ahurā θwalmi mazdā xšaθrōi ā vōyaθrā*
11. *a<sup>4</sup> iōi ubē haurvāscā x'arəθāi.ā amərətātāscā*  
*vaighāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā ma<sup>4</sup> ārmaiti<sup>4</sup> vaxšt*  
*utayūiti təvīšī tāiš ā mazdā<sup>5</sup> vīdvāēšqm θwōi.ahi<sup>5</sup>*
12. *ka<sup>4</sup> iōi rāzarē ka<sup>4</sup> vašā<sup>6</sup> ka<sup>4</sup> vā sūtō ka<sup>4</sup> vā yasnahyā*  
*srūidyāi mazdā frəvaocā yā vīdāyā<sup>4</sup> ašiš rāšnqm*  
*sīšā nā ašā paθō vaighāuš x'aētāng manayhō*
13. *tām ačvānəm ahurā yām mōi mruoš vaighāuš manayhō*  
*daēnā saošyantqm yāhū<sup>7</sup> karəiā<sup>8</sup> ašāci<sup>4</sup> urvāxša<sup>4</sup>*  
*hya<sup>4</sup> avisti<sup>9</sup> hūdāhyō miždəm mazdā yehyā tū daθrəm*

<sup>3</sup> J<sub>2</sub>.<sup>4</sup> read *aš.aojā*.<sup>5</sup> read *vīdvāēšqm θwōyahi*.<sup>6</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>: read *vaxš*.<sup>7</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>1</sub>, etc.<sup>8</sup> in *hū.karəiā* Jp<sub>1</sub>, MΓ<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>1</sub>, etc.<sup>9</sup> read *vōistiā*.

8. Because they frighten us — much as a man of great strength a weaker person — with such actions in which there has been danger for many, good thinking has remained at a distance from these persons who, because of malice for Thy commandment, Wise One, have not respected truth.

9. Those of evil actions who, through their lack of good thinking, have abandoned virtuous piety which is esteemed by Thy knowing follower, from them one has certainly retreated in accordance with truth, much as fierce beasts (retreat) from us.

10. By his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety, knowing, as he does, the creator and companion of truth<sup>3</sup>, and all those other forces existing under Thy rule, Wise Lord.

11. Yes, both completeness and immortality are for Thy sustenance<sup>4</sup>. Together with the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring powers (for Thee). Because of these things, Wise One, Thou dost terrorize the enemy.

12. What is Thy directive? What is Thy wish? Is it for praise? Is it for worship? Speak out, Wise One, in order for that thing to be heard according to which one should distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive<sup>5</sup>. Instruct us to those paths of good thinking, easy to travel in alliance with truth,

13. To that. Lord, which Thou hast told me to be the road of good thinking, to the conceptions of those who shall save, along which Thy extoller shall proceed in alliance with truth indeed to the prize which has been promised to the beneficent, and of which Thou art the (only) source of giving, Wise One<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> to be Thee.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the completeness and immortality created by the faith and devotion of the truthful is the only sustenance which Ahura Mazda requires.

<sup>5</sup> That is, at the time of the final judgment.

<sup>6</sup> The prize is earthly and heavenly salvation.

14. *taī zī mazdā vairīm      astvaitē nštānāi dāiā*  
*vayhōuš šyaθhanā manayhō      yōi zī gōuš vərəθnē azyā*  
*xšmākəm hucistīm ahurā      xratōuš ašā frādō vərəθnūā*
15. *mazdā aī mōi vahistā      sravāscā šyaθhanācā vaocā*  
*tā tū volhū manayhā      ašācā išudəm stūtō*  
*xšmākā xšaθrā uhurā      fərəšəm vasnā haiθyēm dā ahīm*

14. For that prize, desirable for the body and breath, Wise One, has been established (for those) who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow<sup>7</sup>, as they further the good understanding of your will with truth, Lord, throughout the (whole) community.

15. Wise One, therefore tell me the best words and actions, namely, those allied with good thinking and truth, as the just claim for my praises. By your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly heal this world in accord with our wish.

<sup>7</sup> Metaphor for the society of truthful adherents who promote the good vision on earth.

## Yasna 43

1. *uštā alimāi yalmuāi uštā kalimāiciṭ*  
*vasō xšayqs mazdā dāyāṭ alimō*  
*utayūiti<sup>1</sup> tənīšim gaṭ.tōi vasōm*  
*ašōm darōidγāi taṭ mōi dā ārmaiti<sup>2</sup>*  
*tāyō ašīs vaṇhōnš gaēn manayhō*
2. *aṭcā alimāi vīspauqm valūštām*  
*x'āθrōyā<sup>3</sup> uā x'āθrām<sup>4</sup> daiditā*  
*θwā ciciθwā spōništā mainyū mazdā*  
*yā dā ašā vaṇhōnš māyā manayhō*  
*vīspā ayārō darōgō.jyātōiš urvādayhā*
3. *aṭ hvō vaṇhōnš vahyō uā aibi.jamvāṭ*  
*yā nā arōzūš savayhō paθō sīsōṭ*  
*ahyā aṇhōnš astvatō manayhōscā*  
*haiθyōng ā.srīs yōng ā.šāēiti ahurō*  
*arōdrō θwāveṣ huzōntuš spautō mazdā*
4. *aṭ θwā mōnghāi taximōmā spautōm mazdā*  
*hyaṭ tā zastē yā m̄ hafšī avā*  
*yā dā ašīs drōgvāitē ašāmaēcā*  
*θwahyā garōmā āθrō ašā.aṭjaṇhō*  
*hyaṭ mōi vaṇhōnš huzō jimaṭ manayhō*
5. *spautōm aṭ θwā mazdā mōnghī alimā*  
*hyaṭ θwā aṇhōnš zqθōi darōsōm paourvīm*  
*hyaṭ dā šyaōθanā mīzdayn yācā uxδā*  
*akām akāi vaṇhōm ašūn vaṇhaovē*  
*θwā humarā dāmōiš urvāēšē apōmē*

<sup>1</sup> read *utayūitiim*.<sup>2</sup> J<sub>2</sub>: cf. *ārmaiti* Jp<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.<sup>3</sup> for *x'āθrōi yā*.<sup>4</sup> read *x'arāθām*.



## Yasna 43

1. "May<sup>1</sup> the Wise Lord, who rules at will<sup>2</sup>, grant wishes to him, to the person whosoever has wishes". I (therefore) wish enduring strength to come, in order to uphold the truth. By reason of my piety, grant this to me : the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking.

2. Moreover, (I wish) for this person<sup>3</sup> the best of all things, that by which a man might place a person of good purpose in happiness : to be understanding all his days, with the joy of long life, understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit, Wise One, by reason of which Thou didst create the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth.

3. And may that man reach what is better than good, namely, the one who would instruct us to the straight paths of the Mighty One — (to those) of this material existence and (to those) of the mind — and to the true heights where the Lord dwells, he being someone sincere, of good lineage, and virtuous like Thee, Wise One.

4. Yes, I shall (truly) realize Thee to be both brave and virtuous, Wise One, if Thou shalt help me (now) with the very hand with which Thou dost hold those rewards Thou shalt give, through the heat of Thy truth-strong fire, to the deceitful and to the truthful<sup>4</sup>, and also if the force of good thinking shall come to me.

5. But I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when I saw Thee to be the First One at the creation of the world, and when I saw that Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes, namely, bad for the bad, a good reward for the good, (each to be given) through Thy skill at the final turning point of creation.

<sup>1</sup> A citation from a sacred prayer, cf. Y. 45.4 with note.

<sup>2</sup> over everything.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, Z. himself.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the very best thing mentioned in the previous verse.

<sup>5</sup> That is, at the time of the final judgment.

6. *yahmi spəntərū*      *θwā mainiyū urvaēsē jasō*  
*mazdā xšaθrā*      *ahmī volhū manayhā*  
*yehyā xyaθmāiš*      *gaēθā ašā frādantē*  
*aēihyū ratūš*      *sōnghaitī ārmaitīš*  
*θwalyā xratūš*      *yōm naēciš dāhayeiti*
7. *spəntəm aī θwā*      *mazdā mōnghī ahurā*  
*hyaī mā volhū*      *pairī.jasaī manayhā*  
*pərəsaicā mī*      *ciš ahī kahyā ahī*  
*kaθā ayarō*      <sup>5</sup> *da.xšārā fərasayāi dišā* <sup>5</sup>  
*aibi θwāhū*      *gaēθāhū umšicā* <sup>6</sup>
8. *aī hōi aojī*      *zaraθuštrō paourvīm*  
*haiθyō dvatēšā*      *hyaī isōyā* <sup>7</sup> *dragvāitē*  
*aī ašaonē*      *rafəuō hīdūm aojōnghvaī*  
*hyaī ā hūštīš*      *vasaxə.xšaθrahyā dyā*  
<sup>8</sup> *yavaī ā* <sup>8</sup> *θwā*      *mazdā staomī nfyācā*
9. *spəntəm aī θwā*      *mazdā mōnghī ahurā*  
*hyaī mā volhū*      *pairī.jasaī manayhā*  
*ahyā fərasāim*      *kahmāi vivichiyē vaši*  
*adā* <sup>9</sup> *θwāhmāi*      *āθrē rātqm anmāyho*  
*ašahyā mī*      *yavaī isāi maniyāi*
10. *aī tū mōi dāiš*      *ašəm hyaī mā zaəzaomī*  
*ārmaitī*      *hacimmō īī ārəm*  
*pərəsācā mī*      *yā tōi dūnā parštā*  
*parštīm zī θwā*      *yaθmā iaī dnuvatqm*  
*hyaī θwā xšayqs*      *aēšəm dyāī dnuvantam*
11. *spəntəm aī θwā*      *mazdā mōnghī ahurā*  
*hyaī mā volhū*      *pairī.jasaī manayhā*  
*hyaī* <sup>10</sup> *xšmā uxδāiš* <sup>10</sup>      *dīdaijhe* <sup>11</sup> *paourvīm*  
*sādrā mōi sqs*      *mašyaēsū zrazdāitīš*  
*iaī vərəzveidyāi*      *hyaī mōi mraotā valištəm*

<sup>5</sup> read *da.xšārā ā fərasē tādīšā*.

<sup>6</sup> read *umšicā*.

<sup>7</sup> for *isōiyā*.

<sup>8</sup> read *yavalā*.

<sup>9</sup> J<sub>2</sub>: read *adā* (\**ādā*).

<sup>10</sup> read *xšmā uxδāiš*.

<sup>11</sup> read *dādaijhe*.

6. (But) at this very turning point in which I exist, Thou, the Wise One, hast come into the world with Thy virtuous spirit (and) with the rule of good thinking, through the actions of which the creatures allied with truth do prosper. To them does piety announce the judgments of Thy will, Thou, whom no one is able to deceive.

7. And I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he<sup>6</sup> attended me with good thinking and asked me: "*Who art thou? To which side dost thou belong? How, this day, wouldst thou begin to explain these revelations among thy creatures and thine own?*".

8. Then I said to him first: "*(I am) Zorothustra. If I were able, I would be a true enemy to the deceitful one<sup>7</sup> but a strong support to the Truthful One<sup>8</sup>*". That, while I continue to praise and eulogize Thee, Wise One, I would begin (to explain) the endeavors of Him who rules at His wish.

9. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking. To his question, "*Whom dost thou wish to serve?*" I then replied: "*Thy fire. As long as I shall be able, I shall respect that truth is to have a gift of reverence<sup>9</sup>*".

10. "*Therefore do thou reveal to me the truth, which I continue to summon. Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it. And counsel us with regard to what has been asked by us of thee. For what is counseled through thy effort, that belongs to the forceful, since the Ruling One<sup>10</sup> could create thee to be powerful and forceful*".

11. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking. (But) when I was first instructed by your words, painful seemed to me my faith in men to bring to realization that which ye told me is the best (for them).

<sup>6</sup> The virtuous spirit of the lord.

<sup>7</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>8</sup> Ahura Mazdā.

<sup>9</sup> Fire was considered to be a manifestation of truth. Therefore worship of the fire was worship of truth.

<sup>10</sup> Namely, Ahura Mazdā.

12. *hyaicā mōi mraos ašam jasō frāxsānē*<sup>12</sup>  
*aī tū mōi nōi asruštā pairyaoyzā*  
*uziraidyāi parā hyaī mōi ā.jimāī*  
*səraosō ašī mačā.rayā hacimnō*  
*yā vī ašīs rānōibvō savōi (vī)dāyāī*
13. *spəntəm aī θwā mazdā mānghī alurā*  
*hyaī mā volhū pairī.jasaī managhā*  
*arəθā vōizdyāi kāmahyā tām mōi dātā*  
*darəghayā yarōš yəm vā naēciš dārašt itē*  
*vairyā*<sup>13</sup> *stōiš yā θwalnī xšaθrōi vācī*
14. *hyaī nā fryāi vaōdanmō isvā daidīī*  
*maihyō mazdā tavā rafōnō frāxsānəm*  
*hyaī θwā xšaθrā ašāī hacā frqštā*  
*uziraidyāi azō sarədanā sānglahyā*  
*maī tōiš vīspā īš yōi tōi maθrā marəntī*
15. *spəntəm aī θwā mazdā mānghī alurā*  
*hyaī mā volhū pairī.jasaī managhā*  
*daχsāī ušyā*<sup>14</sup> *mšnā.maitiš vahīštā*  
*nōi nā pourūš drəgvatō hyāī cixšmšō*  
*aī tōi vīspāng angrēng ašaonō ādarō*
16. *aī alurā hvō mainyūm zaraθuštō*  
*vərautē mazdā yastē cišcā spəništō*  
*astvaī ašam hyāī uštānā aojōnghvaī*  
*x'ēng.darasō*<sup>15</sup> *xšaθrōi hyāī ārmaitiš*  
*ašm šyaoθamzīs volhū daidīī managhā*

<sup>12</sup> read *frāxsānē*.<sup>13</sup> read *vairyaoyā*.<sup>14</sup> S<sub>1</sub>.<sup>15</sup> K<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>12</sub>.

12. However, that Thou didst say to me: "*Thou hast come to the truth in thy discernment; moreover, thou hast never contradicted Me in disobedience*", it was for me to arise before obedience was to come to me accompanied by a wealth-granting reward, (for it is obedience) according to which one should distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of (our) salvation<sup>11</sup>.

13. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking, in order that the goals of my wish be known. "*Grant*<sup>12</sup> *ye all to me that wish for long life, to which no one has dared you to accede, and that wish for the desirable condition which is said to exist under thy rule*<sup>13</sup>".

14. Yes, Wise One, (grant) to me Thy proper support, which an able man, possessing such, should give to his friend and which has been obtained through Thy rule that is in accord with truth. Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching! Let me along with all those who remember Thy precepts!

15. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking and revealed — he the meditative one — the best things to be said: "*A man should not wish to satisfy the many deceitful people, for they say that the truthful are all bad*".

16. Therefore, Lord, this Zarathustra chooses that very spirit of Thine which indeed is the most virtuous of all, Wise One. "*May*<sup>14</sup> *truth be embodied and strong with breath. May there be piety under the rule of Him who has the appearance of the sun*<sup>15</sup>. *May He dispense through His good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions*".

<sup>11</sup> That is, the final judgment shall bring salvation to the truthful but damnation to the deceitful. Z. therefore looks upon the final judgment as a time of salvation.

<sup>12</sup> Words of Z. spoken to the virtuous spirit during his revelations. These are paraphrased in the following verse, which is addressed now to Ahura Mazdā.

<sup>13</sup> Namely, under the lord's rule of truth and good thinking which is motivated by his own virtuous spirit.

<sup>14</sup> Continues the words of the virtuous spirit begun in the preceding verse; thus an affirmation of Zarathustra's understanding expressed in the opening lines of verse 16.

<sup>15</sup> Namely, Ahura Mazdā.

## Yasna 44

1. *taṭ θwā pərəsčā*      *ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*  
*manayhō ā*      *yaθā nəmō xšmāvatō*  
*mazdā fr̥yāi*      *θwāvəṣ saliyāṭ manaitē*  
*aṭ uō ašā*      *fr̥yā dazdyāi hākuraūā*  
*yaθā nē ā*      *volū junaṭ manayhā*
2. *taṭ θwā pərəsčā*      *ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*  
*kaθā aṭhāuš*      *vahištahyā paourvīm*  
*kāθō sūidyāi*      *yō i paitišāṭ*  
*hvō zī ašā*      *spautō irixtəm višpōihyō*  
*hārō mainyū*      *alūm.hiš urvaθō mazdā*
3. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kasnā zqθā*      *ptā<sup>1</sup> ašahyā paouruyē<sup>2</sup>*  
*kasnā x'əng*      *starəncā<sup>3</sup> dāṭ ačvānəm*  
*kā yā nšā*      *uxšyēiti nərəfšaiti θwaṭ*  
*tāciṭ mazdā*      *vasənti anyācā viduyē*
4. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kasnā dərətā*      *zqncā ačlō nabāscā*  
*avapastōiš*      *kō apō urvarāscā*  
*kō vātāi*      *dvqntaihyascā vaogəṭ āsū*  
*kasnā vaṭhāuš*      *mazdā dpmiš manayhō*
5. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kō hvāpā*      *raocāscā dāṭ tēmāscā*  
*kō hvāpā*      *x'afəntəncā dāṭ zəēmācā*  
*kō yā nšā*      *arənt.piθwā xšapācā*  
*yā manaoθrīš*      *cazdōnghvautənt arəθahyā*
6. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*yā frava.xšyā*      *yezī tā aθā haiθyā*  
*ašənt šyaοθanāiš*      *dəbqzaii ārmaitiš*  
*taihyō xšaθrənt*      *volū cinas manayhā*  
*kaēihyō azim*      *tānyō.skərətīim gəm tašō*

<sup>1</sup> Jp<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>1,2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>.<sup>2</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>.<sup>3</sup> Jm<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub>, etc.

## Yasna 44

1. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, Someone like Thee, Wise One, should declare to me, his friend, how reverence for your kind is to be from the reverent person, and how friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, in order that it shall come to us together with good thinking.

2. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Is the beginning of the best existence in such a way that the loving man who shall seek after these things is to be saved? For such a person, virtuous through truth, watching over the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One.

3. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which man in the beginning was the father of truth during the creation? Which man did fix the course of the sun and of the stars? Through whom does the moon wax (now), wane later? These things indeed and others I wish to know, Wise One.

4. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which man has upheld the earth below and the heavens (above) from falling? Who the waters and the plants? Who yoked the pairs of swift (steeds) to the wind and to the clouds? Which man, Wise One, is the creator of good thinking?

5. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which craftsman created the luminous bodies and the dark spaces? Which craftsman created both sleep and activity? Through whom does dawn exist, along with midday and evening, (all of) which remind the worshiper of his purpose<sup>1</sup>?

6. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, if these things which I shall speak forth are really true. Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth. It has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking. For whom hast Thou fashioned the joy-bringing, fertile cow<sup>2</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> Namely, to praise the lord.

<sup>2</sup> The good vision.

7. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kā bərəxδəpən iāšē xšaθrā maṭ ārmaitīm*  
*kā uzəmtəm cōraṭ yvāuayā pəθrəm pəθrē*  
*azənt iāiš θwā fraxšnē<sup>4</sup> avāmi mazdā*  
*spəmtā mainyētī vīspəuəpən dāitārəm*
8. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*nəndāidyaṭ yā iōi mazdā ādištīš*  
*yācā vohū uxδā frašē manajhā*  
*yācā ašā aṇhīnš arənt vaēdyā<sup>5</sup>*  
*kā mō urvā vohū urvāxšaṭ āgəmaṭ.iā*
9. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā mōi yəpən<sup>6</sup> yaoš daēnəpən (yaoš) dānē*  
*yəpən hudāuaoš paitīšə saliyāṭ xšaθrahyā*  
*ərəšvā xšaθrā θwāvəš asīštīš<sup>7</sup> mazdā*  
*hudəmtōi ašā vohucā šyəs manajhā*
10. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*təpən daēnəpən yā hāuəpən vahīštā*  
*yā mōi gaēθcā ašā frādōiṭ həcəmtuā*  
*ārmaitōiš uxδāiš šyaoθmā ərəš dāidyaṭ<sup>8</sup>*  
*maṭiyā cīstōiš<sup>9</sup> θwā ištīš<sup>9</sup> ucənt mazdā*
11. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā təng ā vījəmyāṭ ārmaitīš*  
*yəēihyō mazdā θwāi vašvetē daēnā*  
*azənt iōi āiš paouruyō<sup>10</sup> fraṇōivide*  
*vīspəng anyəng mainyēuš spəsyā dvaēšəṇhā*

<sup>4</sup> J<sub>1</sub>.<sup>5</sup> J<sub>2</sub>. K<sub>5</sub>.<sup>6</sup> read *təpən*.<sup>7</sup> read *as.ištīš*.<sup>8</sup> read *didyaṭ*.<sup>9</sup> read *θwā.ištīš*.<sup>10</sup> H<sub>1</sub>. J<sub>n</sub>. etc.



7. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule? Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father? By these (questions), Wise One, I am helping to discern Thee to be the creator of everything<sup>3</sup> by reason of Thy virtuous spirit.

8. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, in order for me to bear in mind Thy (every) precept and those words about which I have taken counsel with good thinking and those things which are to be correctly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth. To what goods shall my soul proceed in the future?

9. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the master of a blessed dominion — someone of great power like Thee, Wise Lord — would decree by reason of his lofty rule, as he continues to dwell in his seat<sup>4</sup> in alliance with truth and good thinking?

10. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Have they truly seen that vision which is the best for those who exist, and which, in companionship with truth, would prosper my creatures already allied with truth through words and acts stemming from piety? In consequence of my insight they have wished for Thy powers, Wise One.

11. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How might piety separately come to those to whom Thy conception<sup>5</sup> is taught, Wise One? I have been accepted by them as Thy foremost (follower). Do Thou look upon all others with enmity of spirit!

<sup>3</sup> That is, creator of everything in both the physical and the moral worlds.

<sup>4</sup> Or, *on his throne*.

<sup>5</sup> Still the good vision of a world governed by truth and good thinking.

12. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kā aśavā yāiš parəsāi drəgvā vā*  
*<sup>11</sup> katārāni ā <sup>11</sup> augrō vā hvō vā augrō*  
*yā mā drəgvā θwā savā paiti.arəitē*  
*cyanghaṭ <sup>12</sup> hvō nōiṭ ayēin augrō mainiyetē*
13. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā drujan nīš aluuaṭ ā (nīš) nāšāimā*  
*tāug ā avā yōi asrəšūiš pərənāyhiō*  
*nōiṭ aśahyā ādīvyēimī <sup>13</sup> hacānā*  
*nōiṭ frasayā vāyhiš cāxnarō manayhiō*
14. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā aśāi drujəm dyqm zastayō*  
*nī him mərəqēdyāi θwalyā mqrāiš sāngahyā*  
*āmavaitīm sinqm dāvnōi drəgvasū*  
*ā iš dvaṭšāng mazdā a nāšē qstqscā*
15. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*yezi aliyā aśā pōi maṭ xšayehi*  
*hyaṭ hīm spāidā anaocayhā jamaētē*  
*avāiš urvātēiš yā tū mazdā didərəžō*  
*kuθrā ayā kalnāi vamanqm dadā*
16. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kā vərəθrəti.jā θwā pōi sānghā yōi hantī*  
*ciθrā mōi dqm alūm.biš ratūm cīzdi*  
*aṭ hōi volū sərəošō jenuṭ manayhā*  
*mazdā alimāi yalunāi vaši kalnāicīṭ*
17. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā mazdā zarəm carāni hacā xšnuuṭ*  
*āškaitīm xšnuākqm hyaṭcā mōi ḥyāṭ vāxš aēšō*  
*sarōi hēždyāi haurvātā amərətātā*  
*avā mqrā yō rāθamō aśāṭ hacā*

<sup>11</sup> read *katārō mā*.

<sup>12</sup> read *ci anghaṭ*.

<sup>13</sup> read *ādi vyeimī*.

12. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, (those principles) according to which I shall ask : "*Who is truthful or who is deceitful? Is this one evil or is that one evil?*" The deceitful person who, in order to fight against Thy (means of) salvation, shall act with evil, is it that such a person — not this one<sup>6</sup> — is considered evil?

13. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall we repel deceit away from us and on to those who, being full of disobedience, do not pursue truth's care and company, nor delight in the counsel of good thinking?

14. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth, in order to destroy it in accord with the precepts of Thy teaching<sup>7</sup>, in order to create a powerful schism among the deceitful ones, in order to bring afflictions and evils upon them?

15. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. If Thou hast the (necessary) mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accordance with those commandments Thou dost seek to uphold, Wise One, when the two hosts who share no wants come together, where and to which one shalt Thou grant victory?

16. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Who shall smash the obstacle (of deceit) in order to protect, in accord with Thy teaching<sup>8</sup>, those pure ones who exist in my house<sup>9</sup>? As world-healer, promise us a judge, and let obedience to him come through good thinking, to him whomsoever Thou dost wish him to be, Wise One.

17. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Wise One, how shall I, with your accord, impassion your following, so that my voice might be powerful (enough) to strive for alliance with completeness and immortality (for Thee) in accordance with that precept<sup>10</sup> which adheres to the truth?

<sup>6</sup> Namely, Zarathustra himself.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Y. 47.4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Y. 47.4 again.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the community of the truthful and the faithful who are adherents to Zarathustra's message.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Y. 31.6.

18. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*kaθā ašā taṭ miždarn hanāni*  
*dasā aspā aršnavaitiš nštramicā*  
*hyaṭ mōi mazdā apivaiti haurvātā*  
*amaraiaitā yaθā hi taibyo dāyhā*
19. *taṭ θwā ...*  
*yastaṭ miždarn hanantē nōiṭ dāitī*  
*yā iṭ ahmāi arəšn.xdā nā dāitē*  
*kā tām ahyā maēniš aghaṭ paomrnyē*  
*vidvā avqm yā hn aghaṭ apāmā*
20. *ciθnā mazdā hmxšaθrā daēvā āgharā*  
*aṭ iṭ parəsā yōi pišyeimī<sup>14</sup> aēibyo kqm<sup>15</sup>*  
*yōiš gqm karapā nsixšcā aēšamāi dātā*  
*yācā kavā qumānē nrūdōyatā*  
*nōiṭ hīm mizān<sup>16</sup> ašā vāstrəm frādañhē*

<sup>14</sup> read *pišyeimī*.<sup>15</sup> read *kām*.<sup>16</sup> read *izān*.

18. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall I win through truth this prize, namely, ten mares together with their stallions and a camel<sup>11</sup>, a prize which is to inspire completeness and immortality in me, just as Thou hast received these two for Thyself?

19. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. The person who shall not give that prize to the one winning it, namely, to the man who should receive it in accord with (our) promise — what shall be the first punishment for such a person? I know the final one which shall befall him<sup>12</sup>.

20. Wise One, were the gods good rulers in any way? Yes, I ask this (about them), they who continue to lie to those<sup>13</sup> along with whom the Karpan and the Usig<sup>14</sup> have delivered the cow<sup>15</sup> unto fury, and the Kavi as well. ... They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage<sup>16</sup> with truth.

<sup>11</sup> Metaphor for a devoted following of Zarathustra's teachings, and most probably Vishtaspa and his circle.

<sup>12</sup> Namely, damnation.

<sup>13</sup> Most probably, the evil rulers of the lands.

<sup>14</sup> Another traditional type of priest.

<sup>15</sup> The good vision.

<sup>16</sup> Metaphor for the faithful followers of the good vision.

## Yasna 45

1. *aṭ fravaxšyā*      *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā*  
*yaēcā asnāṭ*      *yaēcā dhīrāṭ išaθā*  
*nū im višpā*      *ciθrō zī mazdāyghō.dūm*  
*uōiṭ daibitīm*      *duš.sastiš ahūm mərəqšyāṭ*  
*akā varanā*      *drəgyā hizvā āvərətō*
2. *aṭ fravaxšyā*      *aṭhēuš mainyū paouruhyē*  
*yaγā spanyā*      *ūitī mravaṭ yōu angrəu*  
*nōiṭ nā manā*      *nōiṭ sdughā nōiṭ xratavō*  
*naēdā varanā*      *uōiṭ uxδā naēdā šyaοθanā*  
*nōiṭ daēnā*      *uōiṭ urvquā hacaitē*
3. *aṭ fravaxšyā*      *aṭhēuš ahγā paourvūn*<sup>1</sup>  
*yqm mōi vidvč*      *mazdā vaοcaṭ ahurō*  
*yōi im vā uōiṭ*      *iθā mqrəu varəšəuti*  
*yaθā im*      *mañāicā vanuacā*  
*aēihyō aṭhēuš*      *avōi aṭhaṭ apəməu*
4. *aṭ fravaxšyā*      *aṭhēuš ahγā vahištəm*  
*ašāṭ hacā*      *mazdā vaēdā yā im*<sup>2</sup> *dāṭ*  
*ptarəu*<sup>3</sup> *vayhēuš*      *varəzayantō manayhō*  
*aṭ hōi dugədā*      *hušyaοθanā ārmaitiš*  
*uōiṭ dīwzičyēi*      *višpā.hišas ahurō*
5. *aṭ fravaxšyā*      *hγaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəutō.təutō*  
*varə srūidyāi*      *hγaṭ marətaēihyō vahištəm*  
*yōi mōi ahmāi*      *səraošəu dqu cəγascā*  
*upā.jiməu*      *haurvātā amərətātā*  
*vayhēuš ma'nyōuš*      *šyaοθanāiš mazdā ahurō*

<sup>1</sup> read *paourvym*.<sup>2</sup> read *iṭ*.<sup>3</sup> K<sub>5</sub>, M<sub>1.2</sub>, (P<sub>1.4</sub>).

## Yasna 45

1. (to the adherents). Yes, I shall speak out. Give ear now, listen now, ye who seek from both near and far. (Listen) now, all of you, to this (precept). Because it is clear, bear it in mind. *"May not the deceitful one of evil doctrine<sup>1</sup> destroy the world for a second time<sup>2</sup>, he who has turned hither with his tongue and his evil preference"*.

2. Yes, I shall speak of the two fundamental spirits of existence, of which the virtuous one would have thus spoken to the evil one: *"Neither our thoughts nor teachings nor intentions, neither our preferences nor words, neither our actions nor conceptions nor our souls are in accord"*.

3. Now, I shall speak of the foremost (doctrine) of this existence<sup>3</sup>, that which the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, told me: *"Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept now exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it, for them shall there be woe at the end of existence"*.

4. Now, I shall speak of the best thing of this existence in accord with truth<sup>4</sup>: *"I<sup>5</sup> know the Wise One who created it to be the Father of effective good thinking. And His daughter is piety of good actions. The All-viewing Lord is not to be deceived"*.

5. Now, I shall speak of what the most virtuous one<sup>6</sup> told me, that word which is to be heard as the best for men: *"Those of you who shall give obedience and regard to this (Lord) of mine, they shall reach completeness and immortality<sup>7</sup>. The Wise One is Lord through such actions stemming from good spirit<sup>8</sup>"*.

<sup>1</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>2</sup> The first destruction was the false choice made by the traditional gods; cf. Y. 30.6.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, piety for the Wise Lord

<sup>4</sup> Namely, the very best truth itself.

<sup>5</sup> Probably a citation from a sacred prayer of the type Y. 28.6. Y. 51.21, 22. Cf. verses 6 and 7 below.

<sup>6</sup> The virtuous spirit who inspired the revelations in Zarathustra; cf. Y. 43.7 ff.

<sup>7</sup> in the next world.

<sup>8</sup> enacted among the faithful.

6. *aṭ frava.xšyā vīspanqnu mazīšrēnu*  
*stavas ašā yā huda yōi hōutī*  
*spəntā mainiχū sraotū mazdā ahurō*  
*yehyā vahmē volū frašī manayhā*  
*ahyā xratū frō.mā sāstū vahistā*
7. *yehyā savā išāntī rādayhō*  
*yōi zī jyā āpharēcā hvainticā*  
*aməratātī ašaouō nrvā aēšō*  
*mayūtā yā<sup>4</sup> nərəqš sādṛā drəgvaio*  
*tācā xšaθrā mazdā dquuīs ahurō*
8. *tēm nē stao.tāiš manayhō ā.vīvarəšō*  
*nū zīf cəixmanū vyūdarəxənu*  
*vayhēuš ma inyēuš šyaoθanahyā uxdaḥyācā*  
*vīduš ašā yēm mazdquu ahurənu*  
*aṭ hōi vahmēng dənānē garō nidānā*
9. *tēm nē volūī maṭ manayhā cixšnušō*  
*yē nē nṛēnu cōrəṭ spənučā aspənučā*  
*mazdā xšaθrā varəzī uā dyāṭ ahurō*  
*pasūš vīrēng alimākēng fraḍaθāi.ā*  
*vayhēuš ašēī haozəθwāṭ ā manayhō*
10. *tēm nē yasrūiš āmatōis mimayzō*  
*yē qumtēnī mazdā srāvi ahurō*  
*hyay hōi ašā voluncā cōišṭ manayhā*  
*xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā aməratātā*  
*almāi stōi dqu<sup>5</sup> təviši mayūiti*

<sup>4</sup> read *ā*.<sup>5</sup> read *dqm*.



6. Now, I shall speak of the Greatest One<sup>9</sup> of all, praising with truth Him who is beneficent through His virtuous spirit to those who exist. *"May<sup>10</sup> the Wise Lord listen, in Whose glory I have taken counsel with good thinking. May He instruct me in His best intentions.*

7. *"Because those who are alive, and those who have been, and those who shall be, shall seek after the salvation that comes from Him, the One who offers solicitude. That the soul of the truthful person be powerful in immortality, that woes beset the deceitful men in an enduring fashion — these things, too, did the Wise Lord create by reason of His rule<sup>11</sup>."*

8. I shall try to turn Him hither to us by praises of reverence, for I have just now, knowingly through truth, seen the Wise One in a vision to be Lord of the word and deed stemming from good spirit. Yes, let us set down His glories in the House of Song<sup>12</sup>.

9. I shall try to gratify Him for us with good thinking, Him who left to our will (to choose between) the virtuous and the unvirtuous. May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness, in order to prosper our cattle and our men in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth<sup>13</sup>.

10. I shall try to glorify Him for us with prayers of piety, Him, the Lord who is famed to be Wise in His soul. Whatever one has promised to Him with truth and with good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule, is to be these two enduring powers for Him in His house.

<sup>9</sup> Namely, Ahura Mazdā himself.

<sup>10</sup> These lines and the whole following verse are probably citations from a sacred prayer.

<sup>11</sup> *over everything.*

<sup>12</sup> Metaphor for heaven.

<sup>13</sup> *existing among the faithful on earth.*

11. *yastā daēvāiṅg aparō<sup>6</sup> mašyascā*  
*tarā.mastā yōi im tarā.maiṇyantā*  
*anyāṅg ahmzī yā hōi arān maiṇyātā*  
*saošyanti dāṅg patōiš spantā daēnā*  
*urvaθō brāiē pītā vā mazdā ahurā*

<sup>6</sup> read *āparō* = *ā.parō*.

11. (to the Wise Lord). The person who, in this very way<sup>14</sup>, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals who, in their turn, have kept on opposing this one<sup>15</sup> — that is, people other than the man who has been pious to him — such a person, by reason of his virtuous conception, is an ally, a brother, or a father (of Thee), Wise Lord, the Master of the house Who shall save (us)<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Namely, by promising to behave with truth and good thinking.

<sup>15</sup> Namely, Zarathustra himself.

<sup>16</sup> That is, any man in this world who acts under the motivation of his own virtuous spirit is himself of the very nature of god.

## Yasna 46

1. *kəpə nəmōi zəpən*      *kuθrā nəmōi ayenī*  
*pairi x'aēiēnūs*      *aīryannanascā dadaitī*  
*nōiē mā xšnāuś*      *yā vərəzēmā hōcā*<sup>1</sup>  
*uaēdā dalīyēnūs*      *yōi sāsīārō drəgvantō*  
*kaθā θwā*      *mazdā xšnaośāi ahurā*
2. *vaēdā taē yā*      *ahmī mazdā anaēšō*  
*mā kamuašvā*      *hyaēcā kamuiānā ahmī*  
*gərəzōi tōi*<sup>2</sup>      *ā ī (a)vaēnā ahurā*  
*rafōdrēm cəgvā*      *hyaē fryō fryāi daidīē*  
*āxsō vaēhēnūs*      *asā īšūm manayhō*
3. *kadā mazdā*      *yōi uxšānō asuqən*  
*ayhēnūs darəθrāi*      *frō aśahyā (fr)ārəntē*  
*vərəzdāiś sēnghāiś*      *saošyautəpən xratavō*  
*kaēihyō īθāi*      *volū jīnaē manayhā*  
*maihyō θwā*      *suxstrā*<sup>3</sup> *vərənē ahurā*
4. *aē tēng drəgvā*      *yāug aśahyā vaēdrēng pāē*  
*gā frōratōiś*      *šōiθrahyā vā dalīyēnūs vā*  
*duzazōhā hqs*      *x'āiś šyaoθanāiś ahēmniśō*<sup>4</sup>  
*yasīēm xšaθrāē*      *mazdā mōiθaē jvātēnūs vā*  
*hvō tēng frō gā*<sup>5</sup>      *paθmēng lucistōiś carāē*
5. *yō vā xšayqs*      *adqs*<sup>6</sup> *drītā ayantəm*  
*urvātōiś vā*      *hucēntiś miθrōihyō vā*  
*raśnā jvqs*      *yō aśavā drəgvantəm*  
*vicirō hqs*      *taē frō x'aēiavē mruyāē*  
*uzhīθyāi īm*      *mazdā xrīmyāē ahurā*

<sup>1</sup> read *hōhōcā* (\**hahura*).<sup>2</sup> read *tōi ā*.<sup>3</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>1</sub>.<sup>4</sup> read *ā hēmniśō*.<sup>5</sup> read *frō gā*.<sup>6</sup> read *ā dqs*.

## Yasna 46

1. To what land to flee? Where shall I go to flee? They exclude (me) from my family and from my clan. The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me, nor those who are the deceitful rulers of the land. How, then, shall I satisfy Thee, Wise Lord?

2. I know that (reason) because of which I am powerless, Wise One: by my condition of having few cattle, as well as (that) I am a person with few men. I lament to Thee. Take notice of it, Lord, offering the support which a friend should grant to a friend. Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth!

3. Wise One, when shall the bulls of the heavens<sup>1</sup> rise forth for the maintenance of the world of truth? The intentions of those who shall save<sup>2</sup> are in accord with Thy mature teachings! To which persons shall one come with good thinking to (give) help? To me? I choose (only) Thy teachings, Lord.

4. Yes, the deceitful one<sup>3</sup> has guarded the draft oxen of truth<sup>4</sup> — either those of the district or those of the land — from arising, being, as he is, difficult to challenge and contentious by reason of his actions. Whoever shall expel him, Wise One, from rule or from life, that person shall free the oxen for the flight of good understanding<sup>5</sup>.

5. The man of good lineage, who is master of a house, should respectfully receive any person coming (to him), be it in consequence of an order or (other) pacts. (But) if a truthful person, living in accordance with this directive, discerns that man to be deceitful, he should declare it to his own family, in order to save it from violation. Wise Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Metaphor for Ahura Mazda and his immortal forces.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the earthly community of the truthful.

<sup>3</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>4</sup> Metaphor for the community of the faithful and truthful.

<sup>5</sup> Another term for the good vision.

6. *aṭ yasistəm nōiṭ nā isənnō āyāṭ* <sup>7</sup>  
*drūjō hvō dāmən haēθahyā gāṭ*  
*hvō zi dragvā yā dragvāitē vahištā*  
*hvō ašavā yalmāi ašavā fryō*  
*hyaṭ daēnā paouruṇyā dā ahurā*
7. *kāmna* <sup>8</sup> *niazdā mavaiḥē pāyīm dadā*  
*hyaṭ mō dragvā didarəsatā* <sup>9</sup> *aēnaijhē*  
*anyəm θvalmāṭ āθrascā manayhascā*  
*yayā šyaoθanāiš ašən θraoštā ahurā*  
*taqm mōi dąst vqm daēnayāi frōvaocā*
8. *yā vā nōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnaijhē*  
*nōiṭ ahya mā āθriš šyaoθanāiš frōsyāṭ*  
<sup>10</sup> *paityaogəṭ tā* <sup>10</sup> *ahmāi jasōiṭ dvaēšayhā*  
*tauvān ā yā im hujyāidōiš pāyāṭ*  
*nōiṭ dužjyātōiš kāciṭ mazdā dvaēšayhā*
9. *kā hvō yā mā aradrō cōiθaṭ paouruṇyō*  
*yāθā θvā zayīštīm nzmōhi*  
*šyaoθanōi sprəntənī ahurəni ašavanəni*  
*yā tōi ašā yā ašāi gəuš tašā mraoṭ*  
*išəni mā tā tōi volhī manayhā*
10. *yā vā mōi nā gənā vā niazdā ahurā*  
*dāyāṭ ayhōnš yā tū vōistā vahištā*  
*ašəm* <sup>11</sup> *ašāi volhī xšaθrəni manayhā*  
*yəscā haxšāi xšmāvatqm valmāi.ā*  
*frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō (fra)frō pərətūm*
11. *xšaθrāiš yñjən karapanō kāvayascā*  
*akāiš šyaoθanōiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašīm*  
*yñg x'ā urvā x'aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā*  
*hyaṭ aihi.gəmən yuθrā cinvatō pərətūš*  
*yavōi vīspāi drūjō dāmānāi* <sup>12</sup> *astayā*

<sup>7</sup> read *ā.ayāṭ*.

<sup>8</sup> read *kām vā*.

<sup>9</sup> read *dādarəsatā*.

<sup>10</sup> read *paityaogəṭ.tā*.

<sup>11</sup> J.-.

<sup>12</sup> read *dāmānē*.

6. But which person, likewise being able<sup>6</sup>, would not (receive) him who shall come, such a person shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity. For that person is deceitful who is extremely good to the deceitful man, and that person is truthful for whom the truthful man is a friend, ever since Thou didst establish the first conceptions, Lord.

7. Whom hast Thou appointed as guardian for me, Wise One, if the deceitful one<sup>7</sup> shall dare to harm me? Whom other than Thy fire and Thy (good) thinking, through whose actions one has nourished the truth, Lord? Proclaim that wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception.

8. May the threat (caused) by the actions of that person not reach me, namely, the one who takes it upon himself to harm those who are my creatures. With responding enmity may it come back to him, up to his person which guarded him from the good way of life but not from the bad way of life. With every sort of enmity, Wise One!

9. Who is that person, the sincere one who shall first enlighten me in how to respect Thee, the Most Mighty One, the truthful Lord, virtuous in His action? They (the adherents) indeed seek after those things of Thine which are in harmony with truth (and) those which the fashioner of the cow<sup>8</sup> told to truth. (Also) those things of Thine in harmony with good thinking.

10. Wise Lord, whoever — be it man or woman — would grant to me those things which Thou dost know to be the best for existence, namely, the truth for the truth<sup>9</sup> and the rule of good thinking, (with that person) as well as those whom I shall accompany in the glory of your kind — with all these I shall cross over the Bridge of the Judge<sup>10</sup>.

11. During their regimes, the Karpans and the Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy the world and mankind. But their own soul and their own conception did vex them when they reached the Bridge of the Judge, (there) to become guests in the House of Deceit<sup>11</sup> forever.

<sup>6</sup> Namely, also being a man of means.

<sup>7</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>8</sup> The virtuous spirit.

<sup>9</sup> Namely, the enactment of truth for the knowledge of truth.

<sup>10</sup> The place where the final judgment is enacted.

<sup>11</sup> Metaphor for hell.

12. *hyaṭ us ašā nap̄yaēšā naṣṣucā*  
*tīrahyā (uz) jōm jīyānahyā aōjyaēšā*  
*ārmaitiis̄ gaēθā frādō θwaxšayhā*  
*aṭ iš volū hōm.aihī.mōist manayhā*  
*aēihyā rafōdrāi mazdā sasti ahurō*
13. *yā spīāmōm zaraθuštrām rādayhā*  
*marōtaēšā xšnuš hvō uā frastrūdyāi arəθwō*  
*aṭ hōi mazdā ahīm dadāi ahurō*  
*ahmāi gaēθā volū frādāi manayhā*  
*tōm vā ašā mōlmuidī hūš.haxāim*
14. *zaraθuštrā kasti ašavā urvaθō*  
*mazōi magāi kō vā frastrūdyāi vaštī*  
*aṭ hvō kavā vīštāspō yāhi<sup>13</sup>*  
*yōugstū mazdā haḍmōi mīuāš ahurā*  
*tōng zhayā vayhōis̄ uxδāis̄ manayhō*
15. *haēcaṭ.aspā va.xšyā vā spīamāyghō*  
*hyaṭ dāθōng vicayathā adāθaxcā*  
*tāis̄ yūš šyaōθmāis̄ ašōm xšmaihyā dadhyē*  
*yāis̄ dātāis̄ paomuyāis̄ ahurahyā*  
 . . . . .
16. *frašaoštrā aθrā m̄ aradrāis̄ idī*  
*hvō.gvā tāis̄ yōug usvahī nštā stōi*  
*yaθrā ašā haōmē ārmaitiis̄*  
*yaθrā vayhōis̄ manayhō ištā xšaθrām*  
*yaθrā mazdā varədmqm̄ saēitī ahurō*
17. *yaθrā vā afšmānī sōnghānī*  
*nōi anafšmqm̄ dājāmāspā hvō.gvā*  
<sup>14</sup> *hadā vāstā<sup>14</sup> vahmōug səraošā rādayhō*  
*yā vicmaoṭ dāθōmē adāθōmē*  
*dangrā mairtū ašā mazdā ahurō*

<sup>13</sup> read *yā ahi*.<sup>14</sup> read *hadā.vastā*.



12. Since thou, truth, didst arise among the noteworthy children and grandchildren of Friyana, the Turanian, the one who prospered his creatures with the zeal of piety, therefore did the Wise Lord unite them with good thinking, in order to announce Himself to them for their support.

13. (to the adherents). Who among men did gratify Zarathustra Spitama with solicitude, that man was deserving of being famed. And the Wise Lord granted existence to him and prospered his creatures with good thinking. We respected him among you as the good companion of truth.

14. Zarathustra, which truthful person is thy committed friend for the great task? Who, moreover, wishes to become famed? Yes, it is Kavi Vishtaspa<sup>12</sup>, with whom thou art allied. *"With<sup>13</sup> words stemming from good thinking I shall call upon those whom Thou, Wise Lord, hast assembled in Thy abode"*.

15. Haecataspas, ye Spitamas<sup>14</sup>, I shall tell you how ye shall distinguish the just and the unjust men. Through such actions ye shall assume the truth for yourselves, in accord with which first laws of the Lord (the foremost existence shall come about here).

16. Frashaoshtra Haugva<sup>15</sup>, come thou hither together with those sincere men whom we two wish to be in His favor. Hither, where piety is in harmony with truth, where sovereignty is in the power of good thinking, where the Wise Lord dwells in maturity.

17. Hither, where, o Jamaspa Haugva<sup>16</sup>, I shall declare to you in verse — not in non-verse — in total inspiration, and with obedience, the glories of Him who offers solicitude (to us), the Wise Lord who, together with His clever advisor, truth, has judged the just and the unjust<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Y. 28, fn 7.

<sup>13</sup> Citation of Vishtaspa's words, revealing that he has truly committed himself to the support of Ahura Mazdā.

<sup>14</sup> Members of Zarathustra's family.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

<sup>17</sup> appropriately.

18. *yā maihyā yaoš alnāi ascī vahistā*  
*maliyā istōiš volh cōišən manahā*  
*qstōg alnāi yā nā qstāi daiditā*  
*mazdā ašā xsmākəm vārəm xšuošənmō*  
*taī mōi xratōiš manahascā vīcīθən*
19. *yā mōi ašā haithim hacā varəšaīti*  
*zaraθuštrāi hyaī vasuā fərašō. təməm*  
*alnāi mīzənm haenōc parāhīm*  
*manō. vīstāiš<sup>15</sup> maī vispāiš gāvā aži*  
*tācī mōi səs tən mazdā vaēdištō*

<sup>15</sup> read *manō vīstāiš*.

18. (to the Wise Lord). The person who (has given) life to me, to him I indeed have promised with good thinking the best things in my power. But evils to the person who would deliver us to evil! — thus satisfying your wish with truth, Wise One. This is the decision of my will and my mind.

19. The person who, really in accordance with truth, shall bring to realization for me, Zarathustra, what is most healing<sup>18</sup> according to (our) wish, for such a person, (besides) winning the prize of a future existence, shall there be a fertile cow and a steer<sup>19</sup>, along with all my possessions (in this existence). Even these things, it has seemed to me, Thou dost best know, Wise One.

<sup>18</sup> Namely, what is most healing and restorative for the world currently afflicted by deceit.

<sup>19</sup> Metaphor for the good vision and Zarathustra himself.

## Yasna 47

1. *spəntā mainyē* *vahištācā manayhā*  
*hacā ašā!* *šyaoθanācā vacayhācā*  
*ahmāi dēu* *haurvātā anərətātā*  
*mazdā xsəθrē* *ārmaiti alurō*
2. *ahyā mainyēi* *spəništahyā vahištəm*  
*hi-vā uxδāiš* *vayhōiš* *ānānī manayhō*  
*ārmaitōiš* *zastōihyā šyaoθanā vərəz-yā!*<sup>1</sup>  
*ōyā*<sup>2</sup> *cisti* *hivō pītā ašahyā mazdā*
3. *ahyā mainyēi* *tvəm ahī tā spəntō*  
*yē alunāi gəu* *rānyō skərətīm hēn taša!*  
*a! hōi vāstrāi*<sup>3</sup> *rāmā dā ārmaitīm*  
*hyā! hēn voln* *mazdā (hēnə) fraštā manayhā*
4. *ahmāi mainyēiš* *rārəšyēntī drəgvantō*  
*mazdā spəntē!* *uōi! iθā ašaontō*  
*kasōnšēi! nā* *ašānmē kəθō*<sup>4</sup> *ayha!*  
*isvāci! hqs* *paraos akō drəgvāitē*
5. *tācā spəntā* *mainyū mazdā alurā*  
*ašānmē cōiš* *yā zi cēcā vahištā*  
*hanarə θvalmā!* *zaošā! drəgvā baxšaiti*<sup>5</sup>  
*ahyā šyaoθanāiš* *akā! ā šyqs manayhō*
6. *tā dā spəntā* *mainyū mazdā alurā*  
*āθrā vayhāu* *vidāitīm rānōihyā*  
*ārmaitōiš* *dəhəzayhā ašahyācā*  
*hā zi pouriš* *išəntō vānrāitē*

<sup>1</sup> Jp.<sup>2</sup> for *ōiyā*, from *ōivā*.<sup>3</sup> read *vāstrē*.<sup>4</sup> Mf<sub>1,2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.<sup>5</sup> read *baxšaitē*.

## Yasna 47

1. *"Through<sup>1</sup> a virtuous spirit and the best thinking, through both the action and the word befitting truth, they shall grant completeness and immortality to Him. The Wise One in rule is Lord through piety".*

2. *"A person shall bring to realization the best for His most virtuous spirit with his tongue, through words stemming from good thinking, and with his hands, through (every) act of piety, according to the single understanding : the Wise One is the Father of truth".*

3. Thou art the virtuous Father of this spirit, the spirit who fashioned the joy-bringing cow<sup>2</sup> for this world. Moreover, Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her pastor<sup>3</sup> when he took counsel with good thinking, Wise One.

4. Wise One, the deceitful are not able to deflect those who are properly truthful from this virtuous spirit. *"Be<sup>4</sup> a man indeed of little worth (or) indeed the master of much, he shall be loving to the truthful person and bad to the deceitful one"<sup>5</sup>.*

5. And through this very virtuous spirit<sup>6</sup>, Wise Lord, Thou hast promised for the truthful person what indeed are the very best things. (But) the deceitful man shall have his share apart from Thy approval, since he lives by his actions stemming from evil thinking.

6. Wise Lord, together with this virtuous spirit Thou shalt give the distribution in the good to both factions through Thy fire, by reason of the solidarity of piety and truth<sup>7</sup>. For it shall convert the many who are seeking<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The first two verses are citations from Ahura Mazda's precepts.

<sup>2</sup> The good vision.

<sup>3</sup> Here Zarathustra himself.

<sup>4</sup> Another citation from a precept of the lord.

<sup>5</sup> The expression 'the truthful person and the deceitful one' is to be understood on two levels. First, as men of this world: secondly, as AhM. as 'the Truthful One' and the evil spirit as 'the deceitful one'.

<sup>6</sup> That is, when it is enacted by the faithful believers in this world.

<sup>7</sup> That is, when piety and truth have grown strong among the faithful.

<sup>8</sup> to know.

## Yasna 48

1. *yezi adāiš<sup>1</sup> ašā drujīm vānghanī*  
*hyaṭ qsašmā yā daibitānā fraoxštā*  
*aməraēnē<sup>2</sup> daēvāišcā mašyāišcā*  
*aṭ iōi savāiš valunəm vaxšaṭ ahurā*
2. *vaocā mōi yā<sup>3</sup> tvāni vidvā ahurā*  
*parā hyaṭ mā<sup>3</sup> yā māng<sup>3</sup> pərəθā jūnaii*  
*kuṭ ašavā mazdā vānghanī drəgvantəm*  
*hā zi aghēnš vaŋuhi vištā ākərətiš*
3. *aṭ vaēdānuuāi valūštā sāsnaunqm*  
*yqm hūdā sāsī ašā ahurō*  
*spəntō vidvā yaēcī gū-rā sōnghāghō*  
*θwāvqs mazdā vaŋhēnš xraθwā manayhō*
4. *yā dāṭ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā*  
*hvō daēnqm šyaοθauācā vacayhācā*  
*ahyā zaošāng nštiš varəuōng hacaihē*  
*θwahnī xratā apdunəm nanā aghaṭ*
5. *hu.xšaθrā xšāntqm mā nō dušə.xšaθrā xšāntā*  
*vaŋhuyñ cistōiš šyaοθauāiš ārmaitī<sup>4</sup>*  
*yaozda mašyā aipi-zəθəm valūštā*  
*gavōi vərəz-yātqm tqm nō x'arəθāi fšnyō*
6. *hā zi nō hušāiθamā hā nō utayūitni*  
*dāṭ təvišm vaŋhēnš manayhō hərəxδqm<sup>5</sup>*  
*aṭ ahiyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaxšaṭ*  
*ahurō aghēnš zəθōi paouruvehyā*

<sup>1</sup> read *ād āiš*.<sup>2</sup> J<sub>P1</sub>.<sup>3</sup> read *yāmāng*.<sup>4</sup> J<sub>P1</sub> (J<sub>2</sub>).<sup>5</sup> J<sub>2</sub> (K<sub>4</sub>).

## Yasna 48

1. (to the Wise Lord). If, during the times after this (present) one which is under the workings of evil, one shall defeat deceit by truth, that hateful deceit which has been taught by gods and men for the sake of immortality, then one shall increase Thy glory, Lord, during those times of salvation.

2. Tell me what things Thou dost know, Lord, before the far end of the course shall come to me<sup>1</sup>. Shall the truthful finally conquer the deceitful, Wise One? For that is known to be the good form of existence.

3. (to the adherents). Yes, for the person who accepts this, there applies the best of commands which the Lord, beneficent through truth, virtuous and knowing, commands, and even His profound teachings.

(to the Wise Lord). Through the determination of his good thinking, he shall be someone like Thee, Wise One.

4. Who has set his mind on the good, Wise One, and (who) on the bad, (each) such person follows his conception in action and in word; also his pleasures, his desires, and his preferences. (But) when Thy will shall be done, the end shall be different (for each).

5. Let those of good rule rule over us — not those of evil rule — with actions stemming from good understanding and with piety.

(to the adherents). Men, let the best vitalization for the cow<sup>2</sup> be brought to realization on earth, in order to breed her for our food<sup>3</sup>.

6. For she shall bring peace to us, she shall grant to us the enduring and esteemed strength of good thinking. And the Wise One shall increase the plants<sup>4</sup> for her through truth, He (who is to be) Lord at the birth of the foremost existence.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, *before I die*.

<sup>2</sup> The good vision.

<sup>3</sup> That is, *so that she shall sustain us in our quest*.

<sup>4</sup> Metaphor for the faithful believers in the good vision.

7. *uī aēšəmtō (uī).dyūtiqm<sup>a</sup>      paiti rəmtəm (paiti).syōdām  
yōi ā vaṇhētis      manayhō didrayzō.duyē  
asā vyqm      yphyā hiθāns uā spəmtō  
aī hōi dāmuyi      θwalmi n dqm ahurā*
8. *kā iōi vaṇhētis      mazdā xšaθrahyā ištis  
kā iōi ašōiš      θwalyū maīhyō ahurā  
kā θwāi asā      űkā arədrəug išyā  
vaṇhētis maīryōns      šyaoθaumqm javarō*
9. *kadā varḏā      yezi calhyā xšaynθā  
mazdā asā      yelhyū mā aiθis dvaēθā  
ərəš mōi (ərəz)ūcqm      vaṇhētis vafūs manayhō  
vīdyāi sušyeyš      yaθū hōi ašis aḡlmī*
10. *kadā mazdā      nuqmrdīs mūrō vīsəntī  
kadā aḡdn      mūθrəm nhyā madahyā  
yā augrayā      karapantō urūpayeintī  
yārā xratū      dušəxšnθrā dahyūmqm*
11. *kadā mazdā      asā maī ārmaitis  
jūmaī xšaθrā      hušəntis vāstravaitī  
kōi drəgvō.ītəhīs      xrnūāiš rāmum<sup>7</sup> dāmī<sup>8</sup>  
kəng ā vaṇhētis      jūmaī manayhō cistis*
12. *aī iōi aḡhən      sušyamtō dahyūmqm  
yōi xšəntm volū      manayhā hacəntē  
šyaoθanāiš cisū      θwalyā mazdā sduḡhahyā  
iōi zi dātā      hamaēstūrō aēšəmt.mahyā*

<sup>a</sup> read *dāmqm*.<sup>7</sup> read *rəmtəm*.<sup>8</sup> *Ip<sub>1</sub>*.



7. Let fury be stopped. Cut away cruelty, ye who wish to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth. The virtuous man indeed is its companion.

(to the Wise Lord). Yes, his bonds are in Thy house, Lord.

8. What is the power of Thy good rule, Wise One? What of Thy reward for me, Lord? What (reward) of Thine is to be sent by truth to those who are certainly sincere as an incentive for actions stemming from good spirit?

9. When shall I know, Wise One, if ye have mastery through truth over anyone whose threat is inimical to me? Let the solemn words of good thinking be truly told to me. (For) he who shall save should know how his reward shall be.

10. When, Wise One, shall men desist from murdering? When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink<sup>5</sup>, through the effects of which the Karpans as well as the evil rulers of the lands torture our (good) intentions in an evil way?

11. When, Wise One, shall piety come along with truth, bringing peace and pasturage<sup>6</sup> throughout the dominion? Which men shall stop the cruelty (caused) by the violent deceitful persons? To which man shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?

12. Yes, those men shall be the saviors of the lands, namely, those who shall follow their knowledge of Thy teaching with actions in harmony with good thinking and with truth. Wise One. These indeed have been fated to be the expellers of fury.

<sup>5</sup> The Haoma, cf. Y. 32, fn 19.

<sup>6</sup> Metaphor for freedom.

## Yasna 49

1. aṣ nā yavā      bāndvō pafrē mazīštō  
yā dušəraθrīš      cixšnušā ašā mazdā  
vaγduh āclā      gaidi mōi ā mōi (a)rapā  
ahyā volū      uošō vīdā manayhā
2. aṣ ahyā nā      bāndvahyā mānayeitī  
ikaēšō drəgvē      daibitā ašā rārašō  
nōi spənuqm dōrašt      ahmāi stōi ārmaitīm  
naēdā volū      mazdā fraštā manayhā
3. aṣā ahmāi      varənaī mazdā nidātəm  
ašəm sūidyāi      ikaēšāi rāšayeǵhē duxš  
tā vaǵhduš      sarō izyā manayhō  
antarō vīspāng      drəgvatō haxmāng (antarō) mruyē
4. yōi duš.xraθwā      aēšənuəm varədan rānuənē<sup>1</sup>  
x'āiš hizubīš      fšnyasū afšnyantō  
yaēšqm nōi      hvarštāiš vqš dužvarštā  
tōi daēvāng chm      yā drəgvatō daēnā
5. aṣ hvō mazclē      ižācā āzūitīscā  
yā daēnuqm      valū sārəštā manayhā  
ārmaitōiš      kasci ašā huzənuš  
tāišcā vīspāiš      θwalmū xšaθrōi ahmā
6. frō vā (fra) ēšyā      mazdā ašənuē nūitē  
yā vā xratōiš      xšmākahyā ā.manayhā  
ərəš vīcidyāi      yaθā i srāvayəēnā  
tqm daēnuqm      yā xšmāvatō ahmā

<sup>1</sup> read *raməncā*.

## Yasna 49

1. Yes, throughout my lifetime I have been condemned as the greatest defiler, I who try to satisfy the poorly protected (creatures) with truth, Wise One. If requital is good, come to me and give support to me. Through good thinking find a means of destruction of this.

2. Yes, the deceitful professor of this resembles the defiler, as he deflects (others) from the truth by himself. Neither has he supported virtuous piety in order that it be his, nor has he taken counsel with good thinking.

3. However, it has been fated for this world, Wise One, that the truth is to be saved for its (good) preference, that deceit is to be destroyed for its (false) profession. By reason of this, I am eager for the alliance of good thinking, in order to ban all the deceitful persons from our company.

4. Those who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty<sup>1</sup> with their own tongues among the cattle-breeders, these non-cattle-breeders<sup>2</sup> whose evil effects one has not yet defeated with good effects, they have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person.

5. But that man, Wise One, is both milk and butter<sup>3</sup> (for Thee), namely, the one who has allied his conception with good thinking. Any such person of piety is of the (same) good lineage with truth and all those (other forces) existing under Thy rule, Lord.

6. I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth — to tell (us) what the intentions of your will are, in order for us to correctly judge how we might make them heard as that conception which belongs to one of your kind, Lord.

<sup>1</sup> *for the cow*, i.e. for the good vision.

<sup>2</sup> The cattle-breeders are the followers of the good vision, the non-cattle-breeders are their deceitful opponents.

<sup>3</sup> Metaphor for strength and prosperity. Intention is that every believer grants new power to god through his faith.

7. *taicā volū*      *mazdā sraotū manayhā*  
*sraotū ašā*      *gūšahvā tū alurā*  
*kā airyamā*      *kā x'arētus dūtāiš aghaī*  
*yō varəzānāī*      *vayuhim dāī frasastim*
8. *fərašaostērāi*      *urvāzīstam ašahyū dā*  
*sarām taī θwā*      *mazdū yāsā alurū*  
*maibhyācā yəpən*      *vayhūn θwalunī ā xšaθrōi*  
*yavōi vīspāi*      *fraēštāyho āghānū*
9. *sraotū sāsnū*      *fšānghyō suyē taštō*  
*nōiī arəš.vacēi*      *sarām ihlqš drəgvātū*  
*hyaī ihēnā*      *valištē yūjān nūzde*  
*ašā yuxnū*      *yāhī dējānāspā*
10. *taicā mazdā*      *θwalunī ū dhm nīpūyhe*  
*manō volū*      *urumascā ašānmqm*  
*umascā yā*      *ārmaitīš ižācā*  
*mazā.xšaθrā*      *vazrayhū avāmīrā*<sup>2</sup>
11. *aī duš.xšaθrāng*      *duš.xyaostanōng dužvarayhō*  
*duždaēnōng*      *dužnumyghō drəgvātō*  
*akāiš x'arəθāiš*      *paīī urvqno (pūt)yantō*<sup>3</sup>  
*drūjō iləniānē*      *haiθyā nghan astayō*
12. *kuy tōi nšā*      *zhayentē avayhō*  
*zaraθuštērāi*      *kaī tōi volū manayhā*  
*yō vō staoīā īš*      *mazdū frīnāi uhurā*  
*avuy yāsnyš*      *hyaī vō ištā valištəm*

<sup>2</sup> read *amāmīrā* (?)<sup>3</sup> J<sub>2</sub> (K<sub>5</sub>).

7. And let a person listen to that with good thinking, Wise One. Let him listen with truth. Do Thou, Lord, (also) give ear (to this). Which clan, which family shall abide by Thy laws, thus being one which shall give good fame to the (whole) community?

8. Do Thou grant the most happy alliance of truth to Frashaoshtra<sup>4</sup> — I entreat Thee for this, Wise Lord — and also to me, namely, that alliance which exists under Thy good rule. We shall be Thy envoys forever.

9. Let the cultivator<sup>5</sup>, being one fashioned to save, listen to these instructions: "*The<sup>6</sup> truly speaking man has never expounded alliance with the deceitful one<sup>7</sup>, since those who are yoked with truth<sup>8</sup> have yoked their conceptions on the best prize when the retribution comes*". Yes, Jamaspa<sup>9</sup>.

10. Wise One, Thou dost guard in Thy house this good thinking, and the souls of the truthful ones, and reverence with which are allied piety and milk<sup>10</sup> — Thou dost guard (all these) with an inalterable permanence that grants rule (to Thee).

11. But the deceitful persons, bad in rule, bad in actions and words, bad in conceptions and thoughts, them shall their souls continue to encounter with foul food when they shall be the true guests in the House of Deceit<sup>11</sup>.

12. What help by truth hast Thou for Zurathustra who calls? What help by good thinking hast Thou for me, who shall propitiate all of you with praises. Wise Lord, while continuing to entreat for the best which exists in your power<sup>12</sup>?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

<sup>5</sup> of good thinking.

<sup>6</sup> Another precept of the lord.

<sup>7</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>8</sup> Metaphor for the truthful adherents.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

<sup>10</sup> Term for worship. On another level, milk is again a metaphor (cf. fn 3 above) for the strength the lord receives through the piety of the faithful.

<sup>11</sup> Metaphor for hell.

<sup>12</sup> Paraphrase of *your very best power*, i.e. the rule of truth and good thinking.

## Yasna 50

1. *kaṭ mōi nrvā isē cahyā avayhō*  
*kā mōi pasōuś kā mōi nā θrātā vīstō*  
*anyō aśā! θwaṭcā mazdā ahurā*  
*azdā zūtā vahīštācā mānayhō*
2. *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skərəitīm gəm iśasōi!*<sup>1</sup>  
*yā him ahmāi vāstravaiīm sīi nxyā!*  
*ərəzājiś aśā pūruś hvarō piśyasū*<sup>2</sup>  
*ākāstāng*<sup>3</sup> *mā niśqsyā dāθīm dāhvā*
3. *aṭcī ahmāi mazdā aśā ayhaii*  
*yəm hōi xšaθrā volucā cōišt mānayhā*  
*yā nā aśōiś aojayhā varədayaēiā*  
*yəm nazdištəm gaēθəm drəgvā baxšaiti*<sup>4</sup>
4. *aṭ vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā*  
*hadā aśā vahīštācā mānayhā*  
*xšaθrācā yā iśō stāyhaṭ ō paiθi*  
*ākā arədrōng dāmānē garō sərəuošānē*
5. *ārōi*<sup>5</sup> *zi xšmā mazdā aśā ahurā*  
*hyaṭ yūšmākōi mąθrānē vaorāzaθā*  
*aibi.dərəštā āvišyā avayhā*  
*zastāištā yā nā x'āθrē dāyā!*
6. *yā mąθrā vācīm mazdā baraitī*  
*urvaθō aśā mānayhā zərəθištō*  
*dātā xratēis hīzvō raiθīm sīi*  
*malyā rāzōng volū sāhī mānayhā*

<sup>1</sup> read *iśōi*.<sup>2</sup> H<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>1</sub>, etc.<sup>3</sup> read *akqstāng*.<sup>4</sup> read *baxšaitē*.<sup>5</sup> read *arōi*.

## Yasna 50

1. Does my person have control over anyone who can offer help? Who has been found to be the protector of my cattle? Who of me? Who other than truth and Thee, Wise Lord, and best thinking, when my summoning really occurs?

2. How, Wise One, should that person seek after the joy-bringing cow<sup>1</sup>, namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage<sup>2</sup> to him, as he lives honestly in harmony with truth among the many who secretly betray (us)? Reject these latter evil ones, (but) accept the just man.

3. For she<sup>3</sup>, indeed, whom one has promised with good thinking to him during the rule of truth and good thinking, she shall belong to that person who would strengthen, with the power of such a reward<sup>4</sup>, his nearest fellow creature, whom the deceitful one<sup>5</sup> shall (otherwise) appropriate.

4. Yes, praising, I shall always worship all of you, Wise Lord, with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which one shall stand on the path of (good) power. I shall always obey (you), the truly sincere ones existing in the House of Song<sup>6</sup>.

5. Lord, let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth! Yes, if ye shall be pleased with your prophet, reveal Thyself with visible help, mighty through Thy hand, through which he might set us in happiness.

6. Reverent Zarathustra, the prophet who raises his voice, Wise One, is an ally of truth. May the Creator instruct through good thinking (the course) of my direction, in order to be the charioteer of my will and my tongue.

<sup>1</sup> The good vision.

<sup>2</sup> Metaphor for peace and freedom.

<sup>3</sup> Again the good vision.

<sup>4</sup> Namely, the advent of the foremost existence.

<sup>5</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>6</sup> Metaphor for heaven.

7. *aṭ vā yaojā zəvišiyēng ahrvaiō*  
*jayāiš pərəθūš valmahyā yñsmākahyā*  
*mazdā ašā ugrēng volū manayhā*  
*yāiš azāθā malunāi hīyātā avayhē*
8. *naṭ vā padāiš yā frasrūtā īžayā*  
*pairihasāi mazdā usiānazastō*  
*aṭ vā ašā arədrahiyācā manayhā*  
*aṭ vā vayhēuš manayhō humarətiā*
9. *iāiš vā yasutē īš pairi stavas ayeni*  
*mazdā ašā vayhēuš šyaoθanāiš manayhō*  
*yadā ašōiš mahyā vasō xšayā<sup>b</sup>*  
*aṭ hndūnos īsayēs gərəzdā hīyēni*
10. *aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairi āiš šyaoθanā*  
*yācā volū caišnuqm arəjaṭ manayhā*  
*raocā x'ēng asnuqm uxšā aēnuš*  
*xšmākāi ašā valunāi mazdā ahurā*
11. *aṭ vā staotā aojāi mazdā ayhācā*  
*yavaṭ ašā tavācā isāicā*  
*dātā ayhēuš arədaṭ volū manayhā*  
*haiθyāvarəš tqm hīyaṭ vasuā fərašō. 1əməm*

<sup>b</sup> read *xšayati(yā)*.



7. Yes, I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds<sup>7</sup>, those wide (going) with the victories of your glory and strong with both truth and good thinking<sup>8</sup>, the steeds with which ye shall race (ahead)<sup>9</sup>, would ye be ready for my help.

8. With hands outstretched, Wise One, I shall serve all of you with the renowned footprints of milk<sup>10</sup>. You, moreover, with truth and with the reverence (worthy) of a sincere person. You, moreover, with the skillfulness of good thinking.

9. Praising, I shall encounter you with such worship, Wise One, and with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth. When I could rule at will over my reward, then I would, exercising such power, be in the stride of the blessed one<sup>11</sup>.

10. Yes, those things which Thou hast brought to realization, as well as those things which Thou hast reached by Thy action, and those things which one shall esteem, through good thinking, in his vision — the lights of the sun, the bright bull of the heavens<sup>12</sup> — these are for your glory<sup>13</sup>, Wise Lord allied with truth.

11. Yes. I shall swear to be your praiser, Wise One, and I shall be it, as long as I shall have strength and be able, o truth. Through good thinking the Creator of existence shall promote the true realization of what is most healing<sup>14</sup> according to our wish.

<sup>7</sup> Metaphor for the faithful and the truthful.

<sup>8</sup> The intention is that truth and good thinking offer strength to the faithful to persevere in their quest for a better world.

<sup>9</sup> Namely, to win the race with the forces of deceit.

<sup>10</sup> Metaphor for worship as well as for the strength which the lord receives through the worship of those who believe in him.

<sup>11</sup> This is truth.

<sup>12</sup> Most likely the moon.

<sup>13</sup> That is, these things will be praised in the hymns to glorify the wondrous achievements of god.

<sup>14</sup> Namely, what is healing and restorative for the world currently afflicted by deceit. That is the rule of truth and good thinking.

## Yasna 51

1. *volhū xšaθrānī vairiū hāgəm aibi, hairištəm*  
*vidišəmuāi ižēcī? ašā amarə, caraiti*  
*šyaoθanāiš mazdā valhištəm ta? uō uīcī? varəšəuē*
2. *iā vā mazdā puourvīm ahurā <sup>1</sup>ašā yecā<sup>1</sup>*  
*taibyəcā ārmaitē dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəni*  
*xšmākəm volhū manayhā valmāi dāidi savayhō*
3. *ā vā gəuš.ā hām, yantū yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārəmtē*  
*ahurō ašā hižvā uxδāiš vayhəuš manayhō*  
*yaēšənu tū pəouruyō mazdā fradaxštā ahi*
4. *kuθrā ārōiš ē, fəəratuš kuθrā mərəždikā axštə?*  
*kuθrā yasō, hiyēn ašəm kū spəntā ārmaitiš*  
*kuθrā mauō valhištəm kuθrā θwā xšaθrā mazdā*
5. *vispā iā pərəsəš yaθā ašā? hacā gəm vīdā?<sup>2</sup>*  
*vāstryō šyaoθanāiš ərəšvō həs huxratuš nəmanayhā*  
*yō dāθəēihyō ərəš ratūm xšəyəs ašivā cistā*

<sup>1</sup> read *ašāyecā*, from orig. *ašāyəcā*.<sup>2</sup> read *vidā?*.

## Yasna 51

1. That good rule must be chosen which best brings good fortune to the man serving it with milk<sup>1</sup>. In alliance with truth, it shall encompass the best (for us) through its actions, Wise One. This very rule shall I now bring to realization for us.

2. These things<sup>2</sup> indeed first belonged to you — to Thee, Wise Lord, and to truth. But to thee, o piety, I shall reveal these things<sup>3</sup> in consequence of my power<sup>4</sup>. Grant thou, piety, your rule of good thinking for the glory of the Mighty One.

3. Those who (already) are allied with you by their actions, let them (also) join with you with their ears. (For) Thou art the Lord by reason of Thy tongue (which is) in harmony with truth and by reason of Thy words stemming from good thinking, of which Thou, Wise One, art the foremost revealer.

4. Where shall there be protection instead of injury? Where shall mercy take place<sup>5</sup>? Where truth which attains glory? Where virtuous piety? Where the very best thinking? Where, Wise One, through Thy rule?

5. Through all this I am asking how the pastor<sup>6</sup>, lofty by reason of his actions, shall (best) serve the cow<sup>7</sup> in accord with truth, as he continues to be a reverent person of good determination and one who, although having the power over (the choice of) both rewards, has correctly understood the (proper) judgment for the just people.

<sup>1</sup> Milk represents both the milk-offering, a term for worship, and the metaphoric sense of strength, the power which the rule of god receives through the belief of the faithful in him. The rule implied here is the rule of truth and good thinking.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, the above-mentioned good rule, good fortune and the best of everything, among men here on earth.

<sup>3</sup> That is, *If I have the power to do so.*

<sup>4</sup> in place of punishment.

<sup>5</sup> The truthful man.

<sup>6</sup> The good vision.

6. *yā vahyō vājrhāns dazdē yaseā hōi vārāi rādaḥ*  
*alhurō xšaθrē mazdā aḥ aluāi akāḥ ašyō*  
*yā hōi nōiḥ vīdāiti apāmē aḥhāns urvāēsē*
7. *dāidi mōi yā gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā*  
*amōraītā hēmrvātā spāništā mainyū mazdā*  
*taṇiṣi nāyūti mānaḥhā voluē sōnḥlē<sup>3</sup>*
8. *aḥ zī tōi vaxšyā mazdā vīdušē zī nā uruḥyāḥ*  
*hyaḥ akōyā<sup>4</sup> drāgvātē nštā yā ašom dādrē*  
*hvō zī mqrē šyātō yā vīdēšē mravaiiti*
9. *yqm xšnūtarn rānōihyā dā θwā āθrā snxrā mazdā*  
*aḥaḥhā xšnustā aibi ahvāhū daxštəm dāvōi*  
*rāšayeyhē drāgvantəm savayō ašavanəm*
10. *aḥ yā mā uē<sup>5</sup> maraxšaitē anyāθā aluāḥ<sup>6</sup> mazdā*  
*hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuṣ tā duždā yōi hōiti*  
*maiḥyō zhaḥyā ašom vāḥhuyā ašī gaḥtē*
11. *kā urvaθō spitamāi zaraθnštrāi nā mazdā*  
*kā vā ašā āfraštā kā spantā ārmaitiṣ*  
*kā vā vāḥhāns mānaḥhō acistā magāi θrāšvō*
12. *nōiḥ tā im xšnāns vaēpyō kōvūō pōraī<sup>7</sup> zomō*  
*zaraθnštrəm spitāmōu hyaḥ aluāi mōraost aštō*  
*hyaḥ hōi im<sup>8</sup> caratascā aodōrāscā zōišōnū vāzā*

<sup>3</sup> P<sub>1a</sub>.<sup>4</sup> for *akōiyā*.<sup>5</sup> K<sub>a</sub>.<sup>6</sup> read *ahmaḥ*.<sup>7</sup> J<sub>P1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>1-2</sub>, etc.<sup>8</sup> read *i*.

6. The one who accepts what is better than good<sup>8</sup> and who shall bring success to His wish, (him) the Lord, Wise in His rule, (shall accept). But what is worse than bad shall be, at the final turning point of existence, for that man who shall not serve Him.

7. Thou, Wise One, who hast fashioned the cow as well as the waters and the plants<sup>9</sup> by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit, grant Thou to me immortality and completeness<sup>10</sup>, those two enduring forces which are to be praised with good thinking.

8. For then I shall say to Thee, Wise One — because a man should say it to the One who knows<sup>11</sup> — that I would do evil to the deceitful one<sup>12</sup>, (as) in accordance with the wish of Him who has upheld the truth<sup>11</sup>. Indeed would this prophet be happy, who shall say it to Him who knows.

9. The satisfaction which Thou shalt give to both factions through Thy pure fire and the molten iron, Wise One, is to be given as a sign among living beings, in order to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful.

10. Yes, the person indeed who shall try to destroy us, Wise One, is different from us: he is a son stemming from deceit's creator and thereby maleficent (to those) who exist. I (therefore) summon truth to me, to come with my good reward.

11. Wise One, which man has been an ally to Zarathustra Spitama? Which one has taken counsel with truth? With whom is virtuous piety allied? Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the (great) task?

12. In no such way did the roguish Kavi satisfy this Zarathustra Spitama at Earth-bridge<sup>13</sup>, since he rejected (him who) arrived at that spot, although his two draft animals were trembling from wandering and from the cold.

<sup>8</sup> That is, the very best, which here is a paraphrase of the very best truth.

<sup>9</sup> On the metaphoric level, the cow is the good vision and the waters and the plants are the devoted faithful. On the literal level, the cow is employed as a symbol for the earth.

<sup>10</sup> That is, a devoted following of adherents who believe in the prophet's message.

<sup>11</sup> Ahura Mazdā.

<sup>12</sup> The evil spirit.

<sup>13</sup> Probably a place name.

13. *tā dragvatō marədañtī daēnā arəaoš haiθim*<sup>9</sup>  
*yehyā urvā xraodainī cinvatō pərətā ākə*  
*x'āiš šyaoθanāiš hizvascā ašahyā nqsvā paθō*
14. *nōiŋ urvāθā dāiθihyascā karapanō vāstrāŋ arəm*<sup>10</sup>  
*gavōi ārōiš tī sāndā x'āiš šyaoθanāišcā sānghāišcā*  
*yā iš sānghō apāməm chūjō dāmānē ādāŋ*
15. *hyaŋ mīzdənni zaraθuštrō magavahyā cōiši parā*  
*garō dāmānē ahurō mazdā jusat paouruuyō*  
*tā*<sup>11</sup> *vā volhī manayhā ašāicā*<sup>12</sup> *savāiš cəviši*<sup>13</sup>
16. *iqm kavā vīštāspō magahyā xšaθrā nqsaŋ*  
*vayhānš pacləhīs manayhō yqm cistīm ašā manā*  
*spəntō mazdā ahurō aθā nē sa-dyāi nštā*
17. *bərəxdqm mōi fərəaoštrō hvō.gvō daēdōiši kalrpām*  
*daēnayāi vayhuyāi yqm*<sup>14</sup> *hōi išyqm dātī*  
*xšayqs mazdā ahurō ašahyā āzdyāi gərəzdīm*
18. *iqm cistīm dōjāmāspō hvō.gvō istōiš x'arənā*  
*ašā vərəntē taŋ xšaθrəm manayhō vayhānš vīdō*  
*taŋ mōi dāicī ahurā hyaŋ mazdā rapən tavā*
19. *hvō taŋ nā maidyōi.māyha spitamā ahmāi dazdē*  
*daēnayā vəcədəmnō yā ahūm išasqs*<sup>15</sup> *aibi*  
*mazdā dātā mraoŋ gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō*

<sup>9</sup> read *haiθyqm*.

<sup>10</sup> read *ārəm*.

<sup>11</sup> read *taŋ*.

<sup>12</sup> read *ašāicā*.

<sup>13</sup> read *cōiši*.

<sup>14</sup> read *yūŋ*.

<sup>15</sup> read *išqs*.

13. By reason of this, the conception of the deceitful person misses the true (conception) of the honest man. His soul shall vex him at the Bridge of the Judge<sup>14</sup> surely, in that he has disappeared from the path of truth by reason of his own actions and (the words) of his tongue.

14. Neither are the Karpans our allies, they who are at a distance from our laws and from the pasture<sup>15</sup>. Theirs is a pleasure from (bringing) injury to the cow<sup>16</sup> by their actions and their words, a doctrine which shall place them in the House of Deceit<sup>17</sup> in the end.

15. What prize Zarathustra previously promised to his adherents — into that House of Song<sup>18</sup> did the Wise Lord come as the first one. This prize has been promised to you during the times of salvation by reason of your good thinking and truth.

16. Through his rulership (following) along the paths of good thinking, Kavi Vishtaspa<sup>19</sup> reached this understanding of our task, which he respected in harmony with truth: "*The* <sup>20</sup> *Wise Lord is virtuous. Therefore wish ye for Him to announce Himself to us*".

17. Frashaoshtra Haugva<sup>21</sup> has continuously displayed to me the esteemed form (of piety) for the sake of the good conception, in consequence of which let the Ruler, the Wise Lord, grant power to him, in order for him to attain the stride of truth.

18. Glorious Jamaspa Haugva<sup>21</sup> (has displayed) this understanding of His power: "*One* <sup>22</sup> *chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth in order to serve (Him). Wise Lord, grant to me Thy support*".

19. Madyoimanha Spitamas<sup>23</sup>, acquiring it by his (good) conception, that man assumes for himself this rule, namely, the one who continues to seek for existence to be (in accord with what) the Wise Creator said is better for life through its actions<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Y. 46. fn 10.

<sup>15</sup> *of truth and good thinking*.

<sup>16</sup> The good vision.

<sup>17</sup> Metaphor for hell.

<sup>18</sup> Metaphor for heaven.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Y. 28. fn 7.

<sup>20</sup> Words of Kavi V.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

<sup>22</sup> Words of Jamaspa.

<sup>23</sup> Members of Zarathustra's family.

<sup>24</sup> Namely, the enactment of truth and good thinking in this world.

20. *taṭ vā nā ha=aošāyḥō vīspāyḥō daidyāi savō*  
*ašəm volū mānaṭhā uxδā yāiš ārmaitiš*  
*ya=əmnaṭhō nōmaṭhā mazdā rafōδram cagadō*
21. *ārmaitōiš nā spəntō hvō cisti uxδāiš šyaosθanā*  
*daēuā ašəm spəntvaṭ volū xšaθram mānaṭhā*  
*mazdā daidā ī ahurō tēm vaṇuhīm yāsā ašīm*
22. *yehyā mōi ašāṭ hacā vahistəm yesnē pairī*  
*vaēdā mizdēi ahurō yōi āṇharocā hōnticā*  
*ta ya=āi x'āiš nāmōnīš<sup>1b</sup> pairicā jasāi vantā*

<sup>1b</sup> read *nāmōbīs*.



20. All ye (immortals) of the same temperament, let that salvation of yours be granted to us: truth allied with good thinking! (We shall offer) words allied with piety, while worshiping with reverence of the Wise One who offers support (to us).

21. *"Virtuous<sup>25</sup> is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception. Virtuous is truth and the rule of good thinking. The Wise Lord created this, (and) I shall entreat Him for this good reward".*

22. *"I know in whose worship there exists for me the best in accordance with truth. It is the Wise Lord as well as those who have existed and (still) exist<sup>26</sup>. Them (all) shall I worship with their own names<sup>27</sup>, and I shall serve them with love".*

<sup>25</sup> This verse and the following one are sacred prayers.

<sup>26</sup> Namely, those who are immortal; specifically, the good and enduring values of the lord.

<sup>27</sup> That is, *I shall worship truth with truth, good thinking with good thinking, etc.*

## Yasna 53

1. *vahištā ištīš srāvi zaraθuštrahē*  
*spitāmahiṽ yezī hōi dāi āyaptā*  
*ašā! hacā ahurō mazdā yavōi vīspāi.ā hvaighəvim*  
*yaēcā hōi daēhən saškəncā daēnayaṽ vāghuyā uxδā*  
*šyaoθanācā*
2. *aīcā hōi scarutū manayhā uxδāiš šyaoθanāišcā*  
*xšnəm mazdā valmāi.ā fraorəi yasnuścā*  
*kavacā vīštāspō zaraθuštrīš spitāmō frašaoštrascā*  
*dāyhō<sup>1</sup> ərəzīš paθō yqm daēnqm ahurō saosyanti dādāi*
3. *tāmē<sup>2</sup> tū pəurneistā haēcajaspānā*  
*spitāmī yezīvi dugədrqm zaraθuštrahē*  
*vāghənš pairyāstūn manayhō ašahyā mazdāscā taihyō dāi*  
*sarəm*  
*aθā hēm frašvā θwā xraθwā spənuštā ārmaitōiš*  
*hudānvarəšvā<sup>3</sup>*
4. *təm<sup>4</sup> zi vō spərədā nivarāni yā fədrōi vidāi*  
*paiθyaēcā vāstryaēihyō aīcā x'aētaovē*  
*ašāunī ašavahyō manayhō vāghənš x'ənuvaj haighnš mēn*  
*həəduš*  
*mazdā dādāi ahurō daēnayaṽ vāghuyāi yavōi vīspāi.ā*
5. *sāx'əni<sup>5</sup> vaəyammāhyō kañihyō mraomī*  
*xšmaihyācā vadənmō<sup>6</sup> mēncā ī (mz) dazdān*  
*vaēdō.dūm daēnābiš abyascā ahm̐n yō vāghənš manayhō*  
*ašā vō anyō ahm̐n vīvənghatū taī zi hōi hušənəm aghaī*

<sup>1</sup> read *dāyhē*.<sup>2</sup> read *tāmē*.<sup>3</sup> for *hudānū varəšvā*.<sup>4</sup> read *iqm*.<sup>5</sup> read *sāx'əni* (\**sa.x'qn*) *i*.<sup>6</sup> read *vadənmā*.

## Yasna 53

1. (to the adherents). The best wish of Zarathustra Spitama has been heard if the Wise Lord shall grant to him those attainments in accord with truth and a good existence for all his lifetime. Likewise, to those who have accepted and taught the words and actions stemming from His good conception<sup>1</sup>.

2. Moreover, let Kavi Vishtaspa<sup>2</sup>, the son of Zarathustra Spitama<sup>3</sup> and Frashaostra<sup>4</sup> continually accompany their knowledge — and their prayers as well — with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking, for the glory of Him, the Wise One, in order to serve the straight paths<sup>5</sup> and that conception which the Lord granted His savior.

3. Do thou persevere, Pourucista of the lineage of Haecataspa and Spitama, thou young one among Zarathustra's daughters. To thee shall He grant the firm foundation of good thinking and the alliance of truth and of wisdom. Therefore, come to terms with thy will, and bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety.

4. For I shall join in marriage her among you, the one who shall serve father, husband, pastors and family. If she is truthful to the truthful, the Wise Lord shall grant (to her) the sunlike gain of good thinking ... for her whole lifetime, for the sake of the good conception.

5. I tell these words to these girls who are being married and to you, ye bridegrooms. Bear them in mind, too. Through the (proper) conceptions acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking. Let each of you try to win the other with truth, for this shall be of good gain for each.

<sup>1</sup> Again the good vision of a world ruled by truth and good thinking.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Y. 28, fn 7.

<sup>3</sup> Intended is the eldest son of Zarathustra, whose name was Isatvastra.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

<sup>5</sup> *of truth*

6. *iθā ī haiθyā narō aθā jānayō*  
*drūjō hacā rāθamō yāma spašuθā frāidim*  
*drūjō āyesē ˆ hōiš piθā ˆ tanvō parā vayū.bərədubiyō duš.xʰarəθām*  
*uqsai xʰāθrām*
*drəgvō.dəhγō dājiī.arətaēihyō anāiš ā manahīm ahīm*  
*marəngəduyē*
7. *aγcā vā mīzdan ayhai ahyā magahyā*  
*yavai āznuš ˆ razdištō būnōi haxtayā*  
*paracā mraocγs aorācā yaθrā mainyuš drəgvatō anqsai<sup>8</sup>*  
*parā*
*ivizayaθā magān tēn ai vā vayōi ayhaitī apāməm vacō*
8. *anāiš ā dužvarəšnaghō dafšuyā hānuū*  
*zaliyācā vīspāyghō xraosəntqm upā*  
*luxšaθrāiš jəuərqm xruərqmcā rānuqmcā āiš dadātū*  
*šyeitihyō vižihyō*
*iratū iš dvaγšō livō dərəzā mərəθyaoš mazīštō mošucā astū*
9. *dužvarənā iš vaēšō rāsti tōi narəpīš rajīš*  
*aēšasā dājiī.arəlā pəšō.tanvō*  
*kū ašavā elhurō yē iš jyātīuš hāmiθyā! vasō.itōišcā*  
*iai mazdā tavā xšaθrəm yā ərəžəjyōi dāhi drigaonē vahyō*

<sup>ˆ</sup> read *hōi spiθā*.

<sup>8</sup> read *anqsai*.

6. These things are exactly true, men; exactly, women. There is an adherent of deceit when ye see a prospering of deceit. (But) I am taking these prosperous conditions away from his person. Foul food shall be for these, as they cry 'woe'<sup>6</sup>, in that happiness has been lost to the deceitful who violate truth. In alliance with them, ye are going to destroy the spiritual existence.

7. However, there shall be for you a (good) prize for the following task. Namely, that there be the most faithful fervor (by you), while your legs are on the ground<sup>7</sup>, in that place where the spirit of the deceitful one<sup>8</sup>, sinking lower and lower, shall finally disappear. If ye abandon this task, then the word woe shall (also) be for you at the end.

8. By reason of these things, let those of evil effects become trickable and risible. Let them all scream out. But in alliance with those who have good mastery over the men-killing, men-violating (deceitful persons), let a man create tranquility for the peacefully dwelling settlements. Let that affliction, most mighty with death's bondage, come to these (deceitful), and let it come quickly.

9. Poison adheres to those of evil preferences. They are decline and darkness. these furious violators of truth whose persons have been condemned. Where is the truthful Lord who would expel them from life and liberty?

(to the Wise Lord). Such is Thy rule. Wise One. through which Thou shalt grant what is very good to Thy needy dependent who lives honestly.

<sup>6</sup> Namely, when they shall be in hell.

<sup>7</sup> That is, *while ye are still alive*.

<sup>8</sup> The evil spirit.

## Yasna 28

This lyric is essentially a series of entreaties (1-3, 6-10) addressed to Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, and to his two most effective forces, truth and good thinking. Throughout the Gāthā Zarathustra supplicates for power, strength and solicitude for his supporters and himself, whose purpose is to defeat the forces of deceit in this world (6), whereby the foremost existence shall come about on earth (11). This is the realization of the rule of good thinking and of truth (cf. 29.10, 30.7) in this world, which shall permit mankind, so long oppressed by the ruinous and destructive effects of deceit (30.6, 31.1), to shape this earthly existence according to the noble and enduring values of truth and good thinking that so uniquely characterize the true nature of the one true god and his creative powers (cf. 31.8). As a result of the advent of this rule of truth and good thinking in this world, there shall thus arise happiness and prosperity for the just and deserving man (2, 10), who by his faith and piety and by his enactment of these lordly principles shall increase the power and meaning of god and his rule (3). In essence this Gāthā closely approaches the nature of a pact between god and man in the profound realization that only by the mutual support of god and man can either one survive.

Against the dominant theme of supplication and entreaty, Zarathustra has worked into the composition of this poem the subtle counterpoint of his fundamental moral philosophy. In verse 1 the prophet sets the scene immediately by stating his reverence for the virtuous spirit, since the mention of this spiritual force has two aims in mind. The first is to draw the attention of the Wise Lord to the fact that the awakening of a similar virtuous spirit in Zarathustra (the theme of Y. 43) has truly been the source of his good determination in viewing himself as the chosen pastor for the cow, namely, the promoter of the vision of a world governed by truth and by good thinking. Moreover, the power of this spirit has been a true support for the prophet in his perseverance to fulfill his good conception of such a view of a perfect world founded upon the essence of goodness. The second purpose in expressing his devotion for the virtuous spirit is to evoke a feeling of compassion and identification in the Wise Lord, for it has been through the workings of such a spirit in the Wise One himself that the lord has been moved to offer

a means of escape from the ways of deceit and to create thereby a possibility of salvation for the world and for mankind (cf. 30.7-9). In this fashion the prophet and his god are of the same nature, and the recognition of the sameness of their essence is intended to arouse the Wise One to come to the aid of his followers.

Verses 2-4 then specify in an undertoned manner the workings of the virtuous spirit in man in both their sacred and profane dimensions. First, service and eulogy for the lord, as he deserves, for above all his nature as godhead must be maintained through the piety and respect of the faithful directed towards him and the eternal principles which he represents. Second, there must be continual enactment of good thinking among men as well as the relentless quest for truth in this world, for this correct behavior of the true and the just man equally promotes in its own way the fitting homage to god by bringing to life in this earthly existence the qualities and character which define the lord's own beneficent spirit.

In the next verse Zarathustra stresses the need for obedience for the Wise One, since he is the most powerful of gods. Defining the character of god in this way also has its special purpose. If man can approach the nature of god by enacting his enduring values in this world, then too man must also possess an analogue of the majestic power of god to ensure the effective realization of these prime qualities of god in his own earthly space. Thus the prophet invokes his god to rise to this need, and thereby justifies his incessant demands for power and might which dominate the following verses 6-9.

Verse 10 then unites both the themes of supplication for assistance and of the recognition of the virtuous spirit in man by asking the Wise One to aid those who are truly motivated by truth and good thinking. For the world is moving towards the better through the efforts of the few who now know the true potential of these lordly values, and yet existence can improve even beyond that through the decisive intercession of the powers of god. This is the point of the final verse, which calls for the advent of the foremost existence through the direct help of the lord, thus resuming the initial supplication found in verse 1: The power to fulfill an existence of truth and good thinking.

28.1. *ahyā yāsā nāmaṇhā ustānazastō rafəδrahyā* 'I entreat with hands outstretched in reverence of him, (our) support'. The gens. *ahyā* and *rafəδrahyā*, as well as flg. *mainyāuš spəntahyā*, are dependent upon

*nəmaɣhā*. The term *nəmah-* is always construed with an obj. gen. when there is a nominal complement: 44.1b *ɣaθā nəmā xšmāvatō* 'how reverence for one of your kind (is to be)'. 50.8c *arədrəhiyācā nəmaɣhā* 'with reverence (worthy) of a sincere one'. 51.20c *nəmaɣhā mazdā rafədrəm vagədlō* 'with reverence for the Wise One who offers support'. In RV. both *nāmasā* and *nāmabhīḥ* are used only adverbially and thus do not appear with dependent nouns, but *stōma-* is often construed with an obj. gen.: X 99.11a *asyā stōmabhīḥ* 'with praises for him'. V 16.3a *asyā stōme maghōnah* 'in praise of him, the liberal one', etc., which are typologically similar.

The formula *nəmaɣhā ustānazastō* also appears in RV. VI 16.46d *utānāhasto nāmasā* and III 14.5b, X 79.2d. Both *ustāna-* and Ved. *utānā-* continue Indoir. *\*uts-iānā-*, a form dissim. from the aor. part. *\*uts-mānā-* of *\*uts tam* 'stretch up, out' (Sl. 1968a, 61 fn 5). On med. parts., cf. *aγədrəwaməu* in 28.3 below. On *ɣāsā nəmaɣhā*, cf. RV. III 2.14d *tām imathe nāmasā rājīnam bhāt* 'Reverently we entreat him, the booty-bringer, for a lofty (gift)'.  
 The root *ɣā* 'entreat for' (cf. W. P. Schmid 1956, 222 ff.) is regularly construed with double acc. in Av. and Ved. Cf. 28.8ab below *vahištəm θwā ... ɣāsā* 'I entreat Thee for the best'. 51.21c *tām vaɣuhīm ɣāsā ašim* 'I entreat Him for this good reward', etc.; RV. VIII 27.1cd *ɣāmi ... devānāvāḥ* 'With my song I entreat the gods for help'. I 24.11a *tāt tvā ɣāmi* 'I entreat thee for this'. Yet the acc. of content needed here in 28.1 cannot be *xyaθauā*, since the flg. rel. pron. would have to be *ɣāiš*, not attested *ɣā*. Note directly flg. 28.2bc *uuihyō dāvōi ... āyaptā ašāḥ hucā ɣāiš ... dāidī* 'To me are to be granted the attainments befitting truth through which one may place ...'. 50.7ud *ɣaojā zəvīštyāng anrvatō ... ɣāiš azāθā* 'I shall yoke the swiftest steeds with which ye shall drive', etc. In form *xyaθauā* is therefore instr. Nor can the obj. of *ɣāsā* be *xratūm*, because *cā* of *gāušcā urvəm* can only connect this last phrase with *xratūm*, with both terms dependent upon *xšnəvīšā*.

Object of *ɣāsā* is thus the oft suppressed demon. pron. *taḥ*. Cf. 31.5b (*taḥ*) *viduyē ... ɣehyā mā əvəšiš* 'to know (that) of which I am to be seer'. 34.12b (*taḥ*) *srūidyāi mazdā frāvaocā ɣā vidāyāḥ ašiš rāšnuqm* 'Speak out, Wise One, in order for (that thing) to be heard according to which one shall distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive'; also 34.13bc, 45.5ab, etc.

Note that it is dialectally significant that Zarathustra does not employ the closely synonymous root *jad* 'request', known to the rest of the Avesta and to OP. (pres. *jaiḍya-*, OP. *jadiya-*).



*mainyāus ... spəntahyā ašā* 'of the spirit virtuous through truth'. Besides parallel 44.2d *ašā spəntō*, *ašā* freq. appears as attributive instr. with other adjs.: 33.6a *yā zaotā ašā arəzuš* 'the priest who is just in harmony with truth', 50.2c *arəzəjīš ašā* 'living honestly in harmony with truth'; 34.4a *aojōnghvantəm ašā*, 50.7c *ašā ugrāng volū manayhā* 'strong through truth and good thinking', 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā* 'words praiseworthy with truth', 48.3b *hūdā ... ašā* 'beneficent through truth'. Related also: 43.2c *θwā ciciθwā spəništā mainyū* 'understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit', 45.6bc *yā hūdā ... spəntā mainyū* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit', 51.6b (passim) *xšaθrā mazdā* 'wise with rule' (cf. 47.1).

The exact determination of the meaning of *spənta-* is difficult (cf. Lommel 1971, 16f.). However, I have chosen the translation 'virtuous', not 'holy', since *spənta-* and its related forms often interchange with forms of *volu-* 'good'. In 30.3b the two spirits are called *vahyō akəmcā*, and this is parallel to their description in 45.2b as *spəntā ... angrəm*. The phrase 45.11d *spəntā daēnā* is the equiv. of the more common *vayuhī (vahištā) daēnā* in 44.10b *təm daēnəm yā hātəm vahištā* 'the vision which is best for those who exist', in 51.17b *daēnayāi vayhmyāi*, 53.1d, etc. Similarly, 53.3d *spəništā ārmatōiš \*hūdāuī \*varəšvā* 'Bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety' recalls 43.11e *taṭ varəzeydyāi hyaṭ mōi mraotā vahištəm* 'to bring to realization that which ye told me is the best'; cf. also 47.2 *vahištəm ... varəzrāt*. AhM. is described as 29.7b *livō urnšəēihyō spəntō* 'He is virtuous to the needy', and a similar expression concerning man appears in 33.3a *yā ašāumē vahištō* 'who is very good to the truthful one'. Finally, it should be noted that *spəništā mainyū* of 33.12b (also 30.5b, 43.16ab) exchanges with *mainyāus vahištāṭ* in preceding 33.6a.

*vispāng*. As obj. of *yāsā*, *vispāng* requires *rā*, obvious from *vā ... pairi.jasāi* and *vā ... ufrāni* in vss. 2a and 3a below.

*vayhāus xratūm manayhō*: *yā xšnəvišā gəušcā urvaqəm* 'through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow'. The phrase *vayhāus xratūm manayhō* has been preposed before the rel. pron. so as not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. Similar convention appears in 30.10c *mazdā ašuliyācā*: *yōi zazənti vayhāu sravahi* 'which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth', 31.8b *vayhāus ptarəm manayhō*: *hyaṭ θwā hān cašmaini grabəm* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking', 34.14b *vayhāus šyaəθanā manayhō*: *yōi zi gəuš varəzəne azyā* 'who, through their

action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow'. Cf. also 33.1 and 53.8 *hu.xšaθrāiš* etc.

*xratūm*. Just as *manah-* signifies the faculty 'mind', its process 'thinking' and its object 'thought', *xratu-* is employed in the 3 meanings 'will' (fac.), 'determination' (proc.) and 'intention' (obj.). First meaning clearly in 43.6de *ratūš ... θvahyā xratūš* 'judgments of Thy will', 46.18e *taī mōi xratūš manayhucā viciθam* 'This is the decision of my will and my mind'. Second occurs here and in 48.3d *vayhiūš xraθwā manayhō* 'through the determination stemming from good thinking'. Third in 32.9a *hvō mōrandaī jvātūš sānghanaīš xratūm* 'he has ruined the intention of life by his own teachings', 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsiū vahistiā* 'Let Him instruct me in His best intentions', etc. A similar frame of meanings occurs for *cašman-* as 'eye' (fac.) in Yt. 10.23 *cašmanā sūkam* 'the light of their eyes': 'vision' (proc.) in 50.10b *yācā volū cašmanm arəjaī manayhā* 'and which one shall esteem in his vision': 'vision' (obj.) in 31.8b *hyai θwā hām cašmaini grabham* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision' (also 45.8b). Likewise, *xyaoθana-* is 'action, act' (proc. and obj.): *xšaθra-* is 'rulership, mastery' (conceived as fac.), 'rule, sovereignty, control' (proc.), 'dominion, realm' (obj.). Different uses of these last 2 words are freq. Cf. Addenda.

*xšnəvišā*. Humbach (1956b, 69 f.) has argued that this form can only be 2sg. pres. opt., but this is unlikely since the root *xšnu* otherwise appears in the Gāthās only as an s-aorist: 3sg. *xšnōuš* 46.1, 13, 51.12; *xšnaošan* 30.5; *xšnaošāi* 46.1; them. part. *xšnaošamnō* 46.18. The expected 2sg. opt. to the med. sigm. aor. should have been *\*xšnaušiša*, which simply dissimilated in Zarathustra's speech to *\*xšnaviša* > *xšnəvišā* (cp. *\*savišta-* > *səvišta-* etc.) under the effect of the surrounding *š* sounds. This explains the unexpected full grade (correct pres. opt. *\*xšnvišā* like *framrviša* 'thou shouldst declare' Yt. 10.119), which is normal for med. sigm. aor. opt. (cf. Narten 1964, 43 f.).

For the root *xšnu* itself, I find the translation 'satisfy, gratify' suffices for the whole of the Avesta; cf. particularly *xšnūt-* at 31.3. Benveniste's attempt (1945, 48) to explain this root as a relative of *xšnā* 'know' has no validity, since *xšnu* is cognate with Ved. *nī hnu* 'satisfy, appease, gratify', *āpa hnu* 'displease'. In Brāhmaṇa texts *nī hnu* is employed uniformly in passages which describe the appeasement of a god (or the sacrifice itself), who would be angered by a certain incorrect ritual action. E.g., ŚBr. 3.8.2.2 *tāṃ vācayati nāmas ta ātānēti ... tāsmāi evātād yajñāya nīhnte tātha hainām eṣā yajñā nā hinasti* 'He makes her recite — Hail to thee, extended one. In this way she satisfies

the sacrifice, and thus the sacrifice does not harm her'. This corresponds exactly to the usual Av. usage of *xšnu* in sacrificial contexts, e.g. Y. 62.9, Yt. 10.32, 120, where *xšnūta-* 'gratified' is opposed freq. to *ībišta-* 'angered'. Zarathustra employs *xšnu* in a broader sense, as he freq. does with old cultic terms, but this extended usage also appears in Ved. *āpa hnu* 'displease'. Cf. RV. I 138.4fg *nahi tvā pūṣam atimānye ... ná te sakhyām apahnuvé* 'Pūṣan, I never disrespect thee, nor do I displease thy comradeship'. Connection of *xšnu* and Ved. *hnu* had been tentatively proposed by Bthlm. (1887, 20), but later abandoned by him.

*gāuš urvanəm* 'the soul of the cow' is the good vision, the good conception, a view of the world ruled by truth and good thinking; cf. introd. to Y. 29.

The whole final line thus expresses the notion that the Lord must offer the necessary support to allow Zarathustra to spread the idea of the good vision, which itself seeks to come to full realization. The determination of the faithful is also linked to the future of the cow in 51.5ab *yaθā ašāi hacā gəm \*vidāi vāstryō ... hqs huxratuš nāmuyhā* '... how the pastor shall (best) serve the cow in accord with truth, as he continues to be a reverent man of good determination' (note *gəm ... huxratuš* parallel to *xratūm ... gāuš*). Yasna 29 in general deals extensively with this theme.

28.2. *yā vā ... pairi.jasāi* 'I who shall serve you ...'. Etymological translations of *pairi gam* as 'umschreiten, umwandeln' etc. offer no sense in the Gāthās. This combination is equiv. to Ved. *pāri car* 'wait on, attend, serve'. and has exactly the same meaning. Cf. RV. V 29.13a *kathō nū te pāri carāyī vidvān* 'How shall I, the knowing one, attend thee now?'; I 127.9ef *ādha smā te pāri caranti ... śruṣṭīvānah* 'Thus (the peoples) serve thee with obedience'; acc. in ChUp. 4.10.1 *tasya ... agnīn paricacāra. pairi gam* usually occurs in association with *yaz* 'worship': 51.22c *tū yazāi ... pairicā jasāi vantā* 'I shall worship them and serve them with love'; Yt. 10.6 *miθrām yazāi zaθrāhyō. tām pairi.jasāi vantaca nāmuyhaca* 'I shall worship Mithra with libations; I shall serve him with love and reverence'. Note also that 50.8b *pairijasāi ... ustānazastō* is followed by 50.9a *yasnāiš pairi stavas ayeṇi* 'Praising, I shall encounter you with prayers'. Seems to be old cultic term, but also appears in typical extended usage of Zarathustra's community in YH. 36.4 *vohū θwā manuyhā vohū θwā ašā vayhuyā θwā cistōiš šyaoθanāišcā vacābīscā pairijasāmaidē* 'We shall serve Thee with good thinking, Thee with good truth, Thee with actions and words stemming

from good understanding' and in Zarathustra's description of his encounter with the virtuous spirit in 43.7 ff. Bthlm. (1905, 1) correctly has 'dienen', but only in this passage, which Duchesne (1948) follows.

*astvatascā hyaṭcā manayhō* 'of the body as well as of the mind'. *hyaṭcā* is simply a conjunction 'as well as'. We have 30.11b *x'itica ānaiti hyaṭcā daragām ... rašō* 'both a way of easy access and one with no access, as well as long destruction': 32.14bc *hyaṭ viśmā ... avō hyaṭcā ... mraoī* 'since they have begun to help ... as well as to say': 33.1b *dragvataēcā hyaṭcā asaonē* 'for the deceitful as well as for the truthful' (comparable to 43.4c *dragvāitē aśamaēcā*): 46.2b *mā kamnašvā hyaṭcā kamnānā ahmi* 'by my condition of having few cattle, as well as (that) I am one with few men': etc.

Almost identical in usage to *hyaṭcā* is the employment of *yācā*, which tends to follow gender and number. Cf. 33.1c *rehyācā \*hām.yasaētē nīθahyā yācā hōi ārazvā* 'and whose falsity as well as his honesty are held to be indifferent': 43.5c *hyaṭ dā šyaoθanā mīždavān yācā uxδā* 'that Thou didst establish actions as well as words to have their prizes'. However, there are passages where *yācā* has no true grammatical reference. In 33.14bc, *yācā* must refer to the preceding *paurvatātəm*, i.e. *paurvatātəm manayhascā vaḡhāuš ... šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxδahyācā* 'predominance of good thinking as well as (predominance) of the action and word allied with truth'. Similarly, *yācā* in 44.20de *karapā usixšcā ... yācā kavā* 'the Karpan and the Usig ... as well as the Kavi'; 48.10cd *karapanō ... yācā ... dušaxšušrā dahyūmān* 'the Karpans ... as well as the evil rulers of the lands'. Note also that the usage of *-cā ... hyaṭcā* and *-cā ... yācā* in 28.2b here *astvatas-cā hyaṭcā manayhō*, in 33.1b *dragvataē-cā hyaṭcā asaonē*, and in 33.14bc *paurvatātəm manayhas-cā vaḡhāuš ... ašā yācā* support the dual interpretation of *\*x'itī \*aniti* in 30.11b *x'itī-cā ānaiti hyaṭcā daragām ... rašō*. If these terms were not in the dual, *cā* would have to follow *ānaiti* as in 44.20de *karapā usixš-cā ... yācā kavā*.

*maiḡyō dāvōi ahvā ... āyaptā ašāḡ hacā* 'To me are to be granted the attainments in accord with truth which belong to both worlds'. Cf. 53.1abc *vahištā ištīš srāvi zaraθuštrahē spitāmahyā yezi hōi dāt āyaptā ašāḡ hacā ahurō* 'The best wish of Zarathustra Sp. has been heard if the Lord shall grant to him the attainments in accord with truth'. The attainments of both existences (worlds) are spelled out in 43.1e *rāyō ašīš vaḡhāuš gaēm manayhō* 'the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking' and in 43.13cde *tām mōi dātā daragahyā raoš ... vairyā stōiš yā θvahmi xšaθrōi vāci* 'Grant to me that (wish) for long

life and for the desirable condition which is said to exist under Thy rule'. This latter is the truly 'good reward' (*vaṇuhī aśiš*), and it is a life governed by truth and good thinking. Even it alone is good for both existences. Cf. 34.14a *taṭ zī mazdā vairīm astvaitē uštānāi* 'for this (prize) is desirable for body and breath, Wise One'.

*āyapta-* is surely dissim. from *\*abyāpta-* (to Ved. *abhi āp* 'attain'), a view Tedesco presented to me many years ago.

28.3. *yā vā aśā uṣyāuī manascā vohū ... mazdāncā ahurām* 'I who shall eulogize all of you — thee, o truth, and good thinking and the Wise Lord'. Syntax of this type of construction has been correctly explained by Zwolanek (1970, 56 ff.). Essentially it consists of a plural pron. form (following the required case of verb) used in conjunction with a voc. sg. of a person included in the group addressed. The remaining parties follow the inflected case of the preceding pronominal form. For translation, it is best to repeat a pronominal form agreeing with the voc.

Other exx. in the Gāthās are as follows. With acc.: 28.9ab below ... *vā uōiṭ ahurā aśāncā ... zaraṇāēnā manascā hyaṭ vahištām* 'May we not anger you — not Thee, Lord, and truth and the thinking which is best'; 49.6a *frō vā iṣyā mazdā aśāncā* 'I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth'. With dat.: 29.8b *hvō nā mazdā vašti aśāicā* 'He wishes to ... for us, Wise One, and for truth'; 32.6c ... *vā mazdā ... aśāicā sṇughō vidqm* 'Fame is to serve you — Thee, Wise One, and truth'; 32.9c ... *mazdā aśāicā yūšmaihyā gərəzē* 'I lament to Thee, Wise One, and to truth — to all of you'; related (with sg. pron.) 34.3a *aṭ tōi uyazdām ahurā ... aśāicā dānā* 'Therefore let us give an offering to Thee, Lord, and to truth'. Also 51.2a *tā vā mazdā puourvām ahurā \*aśāyācā* (Mss. *aśā. aśāi yecā*) 'These things first belonged to you, Wise Lord — to Thee and to truth'.

When the intended parties are subject of a verb form, the voc. is then accompanied by a comit. instr. of the remaining members not included in the direct address. Thus. 33.7ab *ā nā idūm ... mazdā ... aśā vohū manayhā* 'Come ye hither, Wise One — Thou together with truth and good thinking'; 34.6a *yezī aθā siā haiθīm mazdā aśā vohū manayhā* 'If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking'. Since there are no encl. nom. forms of the plural prons., these naturally do not appear.

However, against Zwolanek (op. cit. 38), I do not recognize comit. instrs. employed with any other than the implicit nom. case in direct

address. Therefore, translate 50.4abe *aṭ vā yazāi ... mazdā ahurā / hadā ašā vahiš tātā managhā / xšaθrācā ...* as 'I shall always worship you, Wise Lord, with truth and best thinking and with their rule ...'. Were this passage of the same type as 28.3ab etc., it would require \*... *hadā ašām vahištām cā manō xšaθrām cā*. See passage for further disc.

*yaēihyō xšaθrām cā ayēōnvamnam varadaiti ārmaitiš* 'and (those others) for whom piety increases their unharmable (unassailable) rule'. *cā* cannot connect *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitiš*, since *varadaiti* must be 3sg. pres., not pres. part. fem. (expected part. \**varadaitī*). Thus *xšaθrām ayēōnvamnam* is the obj. of *varadaiti*, and *cā* belongs with *yaēihyō*. Syntactic placement of *cā* is identical in 29.7b *gavōi xšvīdām cā*. To *yaēihyō* supply *tēug anyōng* (intended are the remaining Aməša Spəntas), exactly as below 28.8c *yaēihyascā iṭ rāghayhōi* requires *aēihyō anyāēihyō*.

*ayēōnvamnam* (var. *ayēaou-*). A.-W. (1931, 317) suggested that this word was a mistake for \**ayēinvamna-* (to Ved. *kṣipōti* 'destroys'), but it is difficult to see why there should have been a confusion between *i* and *ō*. *ao*. It is therefore preferable to relate the word to Ved. *kṣaṇutē* 'is hurt, harmed', in ŚBr. 4.4.3.13 *utā vāi yuktāḥ kṣaṇutē vā vī vā liśāte* 'Moreover, if a yoked (animal) is hurt or scratched'; cf. also AV. X 1.16d *mā kṣaṇiṣṭhāḥ pārehi* 'Do not hurt thyself. Go away'. The Skt. part. should be *kṣaṇvānā-*, to which one expects Av. \**ayēanvāna-*. But here it is important to notice that Zarathustra does not employ any med. parts. in *-āna-*, only them. forms in *-amna-*. Thus *ayēōnvamna-* (orig. \**ayēanvamna-*) replaces \**ayēanvāna-* exactly as *iṣamna-* 'able' 46.6a and *xšnaoṣamna-* 'satisfying' 46.18d replace *iṣāna-* Y. 65.14 etc. and \**xšnaoṣāna-*. Note also purported perf. part. *apānō* 33.5b is for orig. \**āpā* \**nā*. The only athem. form is continued in *ustāna-* (cf. 28.1 above), but this is an old, inherited form belonging to the formulaic religious vocabulary and was probably not perceived as a part. Better orthography would be \**ayēōnvamna-*, as Bthlm. (1904, 50f.) proposed. Vars. with *ao* show freq. replacement of *ō* by *ao*.

In general, *xšaθrām ... varadaiti ārmaitiš* expresses the very important idea that the power of god is only as strong as the piety and respect men allot to him and his authority. The mutual dependency of *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitiš* is one of the principle themes of the Gāthās and appears in the following citations. 30.7ab *xšaθrā jasaṭ ... aṭ kəhrpānī utayūitīš dadāi ārmaitiš qmā* 'He came with His rule, and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath to it'; 44.6ed *ašām ... dəhəzaiti ārmaitiš*,

*taibyō xšaθrəm ... cinas* 'Piety gives substance to truth and has made clear to Thee Thy rule'; 47.1d *mazdā xšaθrā ārmaiti ahurō* 'The Wise One in rule is Lord by reason of (our) piety'. With *təviši-* 'force, power' in place of *xšaθrəm*: 33.12a *ārmaiti təvišim dasvā* 'Assume (Thy) power by reason of (our) piety'; 34.11bc *ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūiti təviši* 'Piety has increased these two enduring forces (= immortality and completeness) for Thee'. Here, too, belong passages of the type 31.6c *mazdāi avaṭ xšaθrəm hyaṭ liōi volū vaxšaṭ manayhā*, which are collected there. Zarathustra also expresses the interdependency of piety and rule in the question 44.7b *kē bərəxδqm tāšt xšaθrā maṭ ārmaitim* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule?'.  
 Related notion also appears in RV. Cf. VII 91.1ab *knvid aṅgā nāmasā yé vṛdhāsaḥ, purā devā anavadyāsa āsan* 'Certainly indeed it was by reverence that the faultless gods became strong previously' and I 171.2d *yūyāṇ hi ṣṭhā \*nāmasā* (text *nāmasa*) *id vṛdhāsaḥ* 'Indeed ye are strong by reason of (our) reverence'. Thus the idea is old and surely belongs to the Indo-Iranian religious system.

28.4. *yā urvanəm māu gairē volū dadē haθrā manayhā*. The interpretations of *gairē* as inf. 'to wake' or 'to sing', or dat. of *gar-* 'song' make little sense in this passage. It is important for the understanding of this line to recognize that *urvan-* appears in both meanings 'soul' and 'self', a usage completely parallel to that of Ved. *ātmán-*. Consequently, we can then redivide *māu gairē* as *\*māug \*airē*, and take *airē* as inf. to the root *ar* 'rise, raise'. On inf. *\*airē*, cf. identical form *ārōi* (for *\*arōi*) in 50.5a *ārōi zi xšmā mazdā ašū ahurā* 'Let wisdom arise (come) in the company of truth across the earth, Lord'. Note also comparable inf. *\*arōi* from *ar* 'grant' in 34.3c *\*arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zi ludāghō ... savō* 'Salvation of the beneficent man is to be granted'.

In fact, the redivision of *mān gairē* is preferable since the majority of the best Mss. write *mān gairē*, with the nasal sign only correct before a flg. stop; cf. *tāng, daēvāng*, etc. The form *\*māug* thus derives from *\*mans*, as in *humq=dra-* 'very wise' 30.1, and shows the correct development of *\*aus* to *-āng* also appearing in the acc. pl. forms *mašyāng* 32.8 (*mašyāscā* 45.11), *yāng* 28.10 etc. (*yāscā* 46.10), etc.; in the gen. *xāng* from *\*suvans* 43.16, 44.3b, etc. (cf. Humbach 1959, I 30f.).

Furthermore, the sandhi-vars. *mašyāscā, yāscā*, etc. show quite clearly that attested 31.5b *māncā daidyāi* and 53.5b *māncā i (mq-)dazdūm*

cannot be the orig. readings. Rather, in both instances *\*māscā* must have appeared in the text, and in fact 53.5b *māzdazdām* makes this certain, for the repeated form before *dazdām* is modeled after the type 44.9b *yaoš ... (yaoš)dānē*, and this can only have occurred if *\*māscā* existed at one time in the Urtext. Similarly, 44.8 *māndāidyāi* is a reworking of *\*māzdāidyāi*. What we are dealing with is the common process of the conscious leveling of one standard form throughout the text of the Gāthās at the expense of sandhi variants (cf. e.g. 46.14d *yāngstū* for *\*yastū*), and in the instance of *mān*, we can at once note that this must have occurred only after the false division of *\*māng airē* into *mān gairē*. The first form in the text was thus assumed to be the standard one. For disc., cf. introd. p. 14 ff.

*haθrā*, like Ved. *satrá*, has the value 'completely, thoroughly'. Cf. YH. 38.1 *imam zqm gānāiš haθrā yazamaidē yā.nā baraiti yāscā tōi gānā ahurā mazdā* 'Wise Lord, we worship completely this earth which supports us and those women of Thine (= waters)': RV. 1.71.9b *ekah satrá sūro vāstra īxe* 'Only the sun alone is completely master of (every) good', etc. The comit. instr. is expressed only by *maṭ*: 32.1a *rəzəduəm maṭ airyanmā* 'the community together with the clan', 43.14e *maṭ tāiš vispāiš* 'together with all those', 44.7b *kā hərəxδqm tāšt xsəθrā maṭ ārmaitim* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety along with rule?', etc. *haθrā* never appears in this function.

This whole line is therefore *yā urvquəm \*māng \*airē rohū dadē haθrā manayhā* 'I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking', and is to be directly compared with 32.6b *\*hātqm \*arānē* (Mss. *hātā.marānē*) *valištā manayhā* 'in the uplifting of beings with the best thinking'. Idea corresponds to the usual notion that one best serves the Lord with good thinking and truth. Cf. 34.10ab *ahyā vañhāns manayhō šyaoθanā vaocaṭ gərəbqm huxratns spantqm ārmaitim* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety'; 50.9ab (*vā*) *paiti ... ayeñ ... ašā vañhāns šyaoθanāiš manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with acts stemming from good thinking allied with truth': etc.

*ašišcā šyaoθananqm viduš mazdā ahurahyā* 'and (who) knowingly bear in mind the Wise Lord's rewards for our actions'. *cā* connects this line also to be obj. of *\*māng dadē*. *viduš*, however, cannot be nom. sg. of *vidvah-*, which appears only as *vidvā* in the Gāthās. Rather, the form is nom.-acc. sg. neut. of the part. and is employed adverbially like the Ved. forms *drovāt* 'quickly', *dhyāt* 'boldly', etc. Similar use in



45.8bd *mū zīṭ caśmaini vyādarəsaṃ ... viduṣ aśā* 'For I have just now seen (Him) in a vision, knowingly with truth ...'. Same explanation required for *vāmuṣ* in flg. 28.8b *ahurəṃ yāsā vāmuṣ* 'I do lovingly entreat the Lord'. Rigvedic *viduṣ* (2x) requires a different explanation.

*šyaoθananəm* is an obj. gen. dependent upon *aśiṣ*, and since *mazdā ahuraḥyā* cannot belong with *viduṣ*, it modifies *aśiṣ*, i.e. 'the Wise Lord's rewards for (our) actions'. Parallel obj. gens. in the Gāthās appear in 31.19c *vidātā rəṇayā* 'distribution for both factions', 33.13c *yā vaṇhāuṣ aśiṣ manayhō* 'which is the reward for good thinking', 34.8b *θwalyā ... uṣtā urvātalyā* 'malice for Thy commandment', 34.15b *iṣudəṃ stūtō* 'the claim for (my) praises', 43.13cde *tām (kāməṃ) mōi dātā darəgaḥyā yaoṣ ... \*vairyaṣ stōiṣ* 'Grant to me that wish for long life and for the desirable condition ...'. Related: 48.8d *vaṇhāuṣ mainyāuṣ šyaoθananəm javarō* 'incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'. Cf. also disc. at 44.10b *yā hātəm valūštā*.

Bearing in mind the rewards for actions means remembering that the Lord at the end will reward one according to his actions. Common theme: cf. 43.16e *aśim šyaoθanāiṣ volū claidiṭ manayhā* 'May He dispense with good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions'; 43.5cd *hyat dā šyaoθanā mīzdəvaṇ yācā uxδā / akām akāi vaṇjuhiu aśim vaṇhaovē* '... that Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes: bad for the bad, but a good reward for the good'; etc.

*avaṭ xsāi aēšē aśahyā* 'so long shall I look in quest of truth'. The word *aēša-*, like Ved. *éṣa-*, has more the sense of 'search' than of 'desire': cf. Oldenberg (1908. 477 f.). Related passage: 46.9de *yā tōi aśā ... iṣənti mā* 'They indeed seek after those things of Thine which are in harmony with truth'; cf. 32.2 for syntax.

28.5. *munascā volū vaēdəmmō gātūmcā ahurāi* 'as I continue to acquire both good thinking and a way to the Lord'. H.-P. Schmidt (1957, 165 ff.) has convincingly shown that *vaēdəmmō* belongs to the root *vid* 'find', since the form here follows *aēša-* in vs. 4 in the same way as *aēša-* and *vaēda-* appear together in Y. 68.13 *razištahi paθō aēšəṃca vaēdəṃca*. He then posits a meaning development 'find' to 'find out, understand' for this med. pres. stem, which he tries to defend throughout the Gāthās. But *vaēdu-* clearly means 'possession' in 32.11b *apayetiṭi raēxənaḥyō vaēdəṃ* 'stealing the possession of the inheritor', and it is also possible to translate Y. 68.13 as, 'the search for and acquisition of the straightest path'. Note, too, the same meanings for

*vaēdana-* and *avisti-* in 34.7a *vayhāuš vaēdāuā manayhō* 'through the acquisition of good thinking' and 34.9b *vayhāuš avistī manayhō* 'through the lack of ...', which correspond to Ved. *veda-* *vitta-*, both 'acquisition, possession'. Thus, I prefer 'acquire, possess' for all occurrences of the med. stem *vaēda-*, which then corresponds to the usage of the Ved. med. pres. *vindāte*.

Note also that 53.5c *vaēdō.dūm ... \*āhyascā ahūm yā vayhāuš manayhō* 'Acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking' closely resembles in structure and meaning 46.15c *tāiš yūš šyaoθanāiš ašam xšmaihyā duhyē* 'Through such actions ye shall receive (acquire) the truth for yourselves'. Cf. as well 51.19a *hvō taī (= xšaθrəm) ... ahmāi dazdē* 'he receives that rule' and 51.6a *yā vahyō vayhāuš dazdē* 'who accepts (acquires?) what is better than good', where *vahyō vayhāuš* is much the same as *vayhāuš ahūm manayhō ašā maī* 'an existence of good thinking allied with truth'. Thus it appears to me that med. *dā*, with or without accompanying pron., meaning 'receive, assume, acquire', is the equiv. of med. *vaēda-*. Interesting also is the distribution: there are 5 exx. of *vaēdanu-* but only 1 finite form (53.5b cited above); med. *dā* only appears in finite forms, never in the pres. part. Thus these two seem to be in suppletion with one another, and occasionally, as in 48.3 *vaēdanuāi*, the sense of med. *vid* shades into 'accept'.

For other parallels to the current line, cf. 31.22ab *ciθrā i hudāyhē yaθanā vaēdanuāi manayhā volū* 'These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking'; 44.8d *yācā ašā ayhāuš arām vaēdyā* 'and which are to be properly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth', where *ašā ayhāuš* is a stylistic variant of *ahūm yā vayhāuš manayhō*.

*savištāi sərəošəm mazdāi anā mqrā mazištəm vaurōimaidi xrafstrā hičvā*. The appearance of 33.5a *rišpā mazištəm sərəošəm zbayā* 'I shall summon the all-greatest obedience' makes it impossible to separate *sərəošəm* and *mazištəm* here. This last word then cannot be an adverb. Similarly, the positioning of *mazištəm* after *anā mqrā* excludes the possibility of considering *sərəošəm* to be in apposition to the preceding *gātūmcā*, as does the use of double *cā* in *manascā volū* and *gātūmcā*, a fully inclusive type of coordination. The best solution is to end the first sentence with *ahurāi*, and thus to take *sərəošəm* as the obj. of *vaurōimaidi*. Syntax thus basically same as RV. II 14.9a *ādihvayavaḥ kṛtānā sruṣṭīm asmai* 'Celebrants, manifest your obedience to him'.

This form *vaurōimaidi* I ascribe to the redup. aor. of *var* 'turn'.

Here the translation 'turn' fits very well, and in the 2 other passages, a technical sense 'convert' is present. Cf. 31.3c *yā jvantō vīspāng vāuraṣā* 'with which I might convert all the living' and 47.6d *hā zī pourūs īśantō vāuraitē* 'For it shall convert the many who are seeking'. This root *var* also occurs in the pres. *vārəuvaitē* (Ved. type *piuvate* 'swells') in 31.17a *aśavā vā drəgvā vā vārəuvaitē maz-yō* 'Does the truthful one or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?' (note *vārəuvaitē maz-yō*: *mazištəm vāurōimaidi*); in the desid. *ā.vīvarəšō* in 45.8a *tām nā staotāiš nəmaṣhō ā.vīvarəšō* 'Let me try to turn Him hither to us with praises of reverence' (q.v. for Ved. parallels); and in the past part. *āvarəto* in 45.1e *akā varanā drəgvā hizvā āvarəto* 'The Deceitful One turned hither with his evil tongue and his evil preference' (note *hizvā* as in 28.5 here). Connections of the stem *vāura-* with root *var* 'choose' are excluded, since the idea of 'profess' and the like is expressed only by the combination *frā var*: Y. 12.8 *mazdayasnō zaraθuštriš fravarānē* .... Vr. 5.3 *frā tē vərəne ... mazdayasnō zaraθuštriš*, etc.

*xrafstrā* is simply an adj. modifying *hizvā*, and probably means 'fierce'. Cf. 34.5c *daēvāišcā xrafstrāiš mašyāišcā* 'by fierce gods and men'. The application of this word to describe wild, harmful animals is a specialization of the original meaning, and parallels the development of *daēva-* 'god' to signify 'fallen god, demon'. In general, I find the expression *xrafstrā hizvā* 'with a fierce tongue' no more unusual than the parallel *xraoždyeḥya frasrūti* 'with a harder recitation' in Y. 9.14 *frasrāvayō ... aparəm xraoždyeḥya frasrūti* 'thou didst recite successively with a harder (= louder) recitation'.

Thus translate: 'May we turn the greatest obedience to the most Mighty Lord through the following sacred-formulation (prayer)'.

28.6. *dvaēšā taurvayāmā*. The form *taurvayāmā* is a modernization of orig. *\*taurvāmā* (cf. Meillet 1920. 196) under the influence of the freq. yAv. expression *ṭhaēšā taurvayēiti* etc. The stem *taurva-* is the equiv. of Ved. *tūrvati* 'overtakes, surpasses'.

28.7. *dāicli ... vīštāspāi īśəm maibyācā* 'Grant power to V. and to me'. Both *īś-* and *īšti-* allow the consistent translation 'power' throughout the Gāthās and are characteristically employed beside the allied concept *xšaθra-* 'mastery, sovereignty'. Cf. 28.9c below *īšō xšaθramcā savayhuṃ* 'To mighty ones belong the powers and the mastery'; 34.5a *kaṣ vō xšaθrəm kā īštiš* 'Have ye the mastery, have ye the power?';

46.16d *yaθrā vaṇhāuš manayhō īstā xšaθrām* 'where the sovereignty is in the power of good thinking'; also 51.18 *īstōiš ... xšaθrām*. Note also that the fig. *vaṇhāuš īsti- manayhō* (also 32.9, 46.2) exchanges with *hazah-* 'force' in 43.4e *vaṇhāuš hazā manayhō*. Cf. also 50.9 *aṭ hūdānaoš īsayas* etc.

Similarly, *aēša-* is 'powerful' and *anaēša-* 'powerless'. Thus YH. 41.4 *aēšācā ... āmāvantascā huṇamā* 'May we be powerful and forceful' and 43.10e *hy'ei θvā xšayās aēšam dyāi āmāvantam* 'since the Ruler could create thee to be powerful and forceful' clearly belong with Yt. 10.33 *dazeli ... īstūm amam vərəθraγmāuca* 'Grant power, force and victory'. Similarly, 29.9ab apposes *anaēšam rādām* 'powerless caretaker' with *vācīm nərəš asūrahya* 'the voice of a man lacking might'. Other related forms in *īsta-* 'power' in *zastāīsta-* 34.4, 50.5, *īyā-* 'id.' 51.17, *īšan* 'having power' 32.12, and pres. part. demon. *īsayas* 'exercising power' 50.9. Note, too, that 51.17b ... *hōi īyqm dātū* is a variant of *dāidi ... vīstāspāi īšam maihyācā* in 28.7 here.

Since the set *īš- īsti- īsta- aēša-* is parallel to Ved. *jñs- jñṣi- jñsta- jōṣa-* etc., it is best to set up a root *īš* 'have power'. Similar meaning 'power' for Ved. *īṣi-* in I 166.14cd *ā yāt tatānan vyjāne jñāsa, ebhīr yajñēbhīs tād abhīṣṭim aśvām* 'If our men are to spread out in the community, then might I reach such power with these worships'. Note also that Ved. *īṣ-* can freq. = 'power'; cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš* etc.

*dāstū mazdā xšayācā* 'and do Thou give, Wise Ruler'. The *cā* here can only coordinate this phrase with the preceding *dāidi*, and its unusual placement is governed by the following syntactic conventions. (1) *tū* occurs in 2nd position in its pāda or clause. E.g. above 28.6b *arāšvāiš tū, dāidi tū* in vs. 7 here, 32.7c *yaēsqm tū*, 34.13c *yeḥyā tū*, etc. (2) A compound voc. sg. cannot be broken within a given metrical unit. E.g. above 28.2a *yā vā mazdā ahurā*, below 28.10b *arəθwāng mazdā ahurā*, 28.11b *tvām mazdā ahurā*, 31.5c *tācī mazdā ahurā*, etc. (3) *va* and *tū* never follow one another in Ved., and thus presumably also in Gāthic. Therefore, since *tū* must follow *dās* and since *mazdā xšayā* cannot be split, *cā* has moved to the end of the line.

It follows then that the 2 exx. of *-cā tū* in the Avesta cannot be correct. In 53.3a *tāncā.tū pourucistā* emend to *\*tāncā.tū* (cf. passage for disc.). Similarly, YH. 41.4 *rapōišcā tū.nā darəgāmcā nstācā hātqm hūdāstāmā* should be altered to *\*rapōiš tū.nā darəgāmcā \*īstā \*yā hātqm hūdāstāmā* 'And do Thou support us for a long time under that power (of Thine) which is most beneficent for those who exist'. In this passage the

false use of *-cā* has been assimilated from preceding *hanaēmācā zaēmācā* ... *aēšācā θwā ānavantascā* ... by the text tradition, but note that *-cā* has moved to position after *darəgəm*, first non-enclitic after *tū.nē*, as in *dāstū mazdā xšayācā*.

*xšaya-* 'ruler' also appears at 32.5, and this word approximates the meaning of *xšayqs* at 43.10, 51.17, where we meet the similar fig. *xšayqs mazdā ahurō*.

*yā vā mθrā srāvīmā rādā* 'through which promise we may hear of your solicitude for us'. On meaning, cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš ... mθrānt*. The obj. of *dās* is *mθrām*, which has moved into the rel. clause. Similar syntax in 46.1c *nōi mā xšnāuš yā vərəzōnā \*hāhēcā* (Mss. *hēcā*) 'The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me'. Cf. also RV. I 166.14ab *yēna dīrghām marutaḥ śūśāvāma. yuṣmākena pārīyasū turāsaḥ* 'Swift Maruts. (grant) your bounty through which we shall grow strong for a long time'.

*srāvīmā* = *\*srōīmā*, just as *cəvišī* 51.15 and *cəvištā* 34.13 = *\*cōišī* and *\*cōištā*. This *\*srōīmā* is a contraction of *\*sravōīmā*, aor. opt. of *sru*, which in fact is attested in the modernized form *sravaēmā* in K<sub>5</sub>. Similar contractions occur in *zar'uaēmā* 28.9 below from *\*zar'uāyaēmā*; *zāēmā* YH. 41.4 from *\*zayaēmā*; *xšayā* 50.9, *xšaēša* Y. 8.5, *xšaētā* YH. 41.2 from *\*xšaya(i)yā* *\*xšayaēša* *\*xšayaētā*; *apaēmā* YH. 41.2 from *\*apayaēmā*; and *aḡhāyā* 32.16 from *\*āḡhāya(i)yā*. These latter forms all have *-āyati* presents. However, *\*sravōīmā* itself has been built to aor. subj. *\*sravāimā*, thus parallel to the Ved. type *ganiēma* founded upon aor. subj. *gāimāma*. Similarly, opt. *isōyā* 43.8 (= *\*isōiyā*) has been built to corresponding subj. *isāi* 28.4, 43.9, 50.11. Note also *vairiā* 43.13 contracted from *\*vairiyayā*.

The word *rādah-* cannot be dissociated from *rādu-* (or *rād-*) 'care-taker' 29.9 (also Y. 9.23), and means 'care, solicitude'. The adj. form appears in the gen. *rādahō* 'offering care, solicitude' 45.7, 46.17, which always refers to AhM. Good support for meaning from Ved., where 'solicitude' is the favorable translation as well. Best exx.: RV. VIII 1.6cd *mātā ca me chadayathā samā vaso, vasutvanāya rādhuṣe* 'Thou, good (Indra), and my mother seem to me equal with regard to goodness and solicitude'. IV 20.2ab *ā na indro ... yātu ... āvase rādhuṣe ca* 'Let Indra drive hither for our help and solicitude'.

28.8. *yāsā vāmuš* 'I do lovingly entreat'. *vāmuš* is adverb: cf. *viduš* in 28.4 above. The root *van* 'adore, love' belongs to the standard vocabulary of worship. Cf. 51.22c *tā yazāi ... pairicā jusāi vanti*

'I shall worship them and serve them with love' (cf. 28.2 above); 28.10c below *vainiyā sravā* 'words founded on love'. Note also Ved. *vanis-* 'adorer' in RV. IV 44.3cd *ṛā́sya vā vaniṣe pūrvyā́ya, námo yemānāḥ* ... 'or offering reverence to the foremost adorer of truth', III 27.11 *agnim ... ṛā́sya yóge vaniṣah, viprāḥ ... sām indhute* 'The adorers and the poets kindle Agni in this event of truth', etc.

*yaēihyascā* requires *aēihyō anyuēihyō*: cf. *yaēihyō xšaθrəmcā* in 28.3 above.

28.9. *ahurā mazdā, mazdā* is a gloss, discernible from the splitting of the voc. across the caesura: cf. 28.7 above.

*zar'uāēnā* has contracted in recitation from *\*zar'nāyaēnā*: cf. *srāvīmā* in 28.7 above. The stem *zar-uā-ya-* is thus directly cognate with Ved. *hṛ-ṛā-yānt-* *hṛ-ṛā-yā-*: but the vocalism *zar-* (in place of *\*zr-*) stems from the perf. *zazurāna-* (= Ved. *jihurāṇi-*). Note that the med. form *zar'nūna-* Yt. 10.47 < *\*zar-u-yanna-* also exactly corresponds to Ved. *hṛ-ṛi-yannāna-*: thus with proper loss of *\*a* in medial syllables.

*ṛūšm zavištīyāhō iṣō xšaθrəmcā savayhqm* 'Ye are the strongest. To mighty ones (like you) belong the powers and the mastery'. This last line explains the reason for Zarathustra's entreaties: only the immortal ones have the necessary power to grant these requests. Although *zavištīya-* is 'swiftest' at 50.7 (modifying *aurvatō* 'steeds'), here and at 46.9, where it refers to AhM., the value is 'strongest'. This corresponds to *zavah-* 'strength' in 33.12, where *zavišm zavō* and *huzō* stand in parallel. Cf. also Sogd. *z'wr* 'strength'.

Syntax of *cā* in *iṣō xšaθrəmcā savayhqm* follows 31.15c *pasōis virāuṭcā adrujyantiō* 'from the cattle and man of the undeceiving one', etc. The stem *savah-*, like *rādah-* discussed above, when used in the gen. is adjectival and refers to AhM.: cf. 43.3.

28.10. *aī yōng ašāaṭcā vōistā vaḥhānšcā dāθōng manayhō arəθwāng* 'Therefore, those whom Thou knowest to be just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking ...'. Because *manayhō* follows *dāθōng* rather than precedes it, *ašāaṭcā ... vaḥhānšcā manayhō* modifies *dāθōng* rather than *vōistā*. The term *arəθwāng* is simply attached asyndetically to *dāθōng*. Word order is thus identical to 33.3c *aī hvō ašahyā aḥaṭ vaḥhānšcā vāstrē manayhō* 'That person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Note that adverbial phrases surround the verb which they modify: e.g. 45.10c *hyaṭ hōi ašā vohucā*

*cōišt manayhā*, 32.4bc *vayhēuš sīždyaunā manayhō* ... *nasyantō ašātcā*, 33.8a *yā volū šyavāi manayhā*, etc.

*dāθa-* is 'just' and belongs with *dāta-* 'law' (HH. 1952b, 4): fuller disc. at *kāθa-* 44.2. *arəθwa-* means 'deserving' (close, Bthlm's 'worthy', etc.), and the word is derived from a root *ar* 'deserve'. I also identify the same root in *aši-* (\**ri-*) 'reward', i.e. 'what one deserves', and in the 1 sg. imperf. (or aor.) *ārəm* in 43.10b *ārmaitī hacinnō īt ārəm* 'Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it'. Later use of *aši-* with *ar* 'grant' results from secondary association.

Omit *xšmaibyā* (gloss of *vā*) in the last line (so, A.-W. 1931, 319), whose meter requires *aī vā asūnā vaēdā*: *huvar-θiyā vaintiyā sravā*. *asūna-* belongs best with Skt. \**aśūna-* 'not empty, wanting' (in *aśūnya-*). *x'araiθiyā-* and *vaintiyā-* are secondary derivs. from \**x'arəθa-* (3 syllables) 'of good goal, purpose' 43.2 (= Ved. *x'r-ārtha-*) and *vautā-* 'love' 51.22. On this last word, cf. *vānuš* in 28.8 above.

Thus the final line is *aī vā asūnā vaēdā x'araiθiyā vaintiyā sravā* 'I know that words deriving from good purpose and from love are not left wanting by you'. Idea recalls RV. III 33.8a *etād vāco jaritar māpi mṛtyhāh* 'Do not ignore this word, singer'. VII 32.5ab *śrāvāc chrūt-karṇah* ... *nī cū no mardhiṣad girah* 'The one of listening ears shall listen. He shall never ignore our songs', etc., employed in the same context of worship.

28.11. *frōnuā sīsā θwalunāī vaocajhē mainyēuš hacā θvā dāyghā*. The reading *vaocajhē* seems incorrect for 2 reasons. (1) The positioning of *θwalunāī* and *mainyēuš* around *vaocajhē* conforms to Zarathustra's usual syntactic practice of framing a noun by the phrase which modifies it. Cf. 43.4d *θwalyā garəmnā āθrō*, 44.14c *θwalyā mθbrāiš sānghahyā*, 46.14e *vayhēuš uxδāiš manayhō*, etc. (2) Parallel passages with the instr. *hizvā* usually occur with a 2nd instr. Cf. 45.1e *akā varauā drəgvā hizvā āvərətō*, 47.2b *hizvā uxδāiš vayhēuš dānuū manayhō* = 51.3b *hizvā uxδāiš vayhēuš manayhō*, and especially above 28.5c *anā mθbrā* ... *vāurōūmaidi* ... *hizvā*.

In light of this, I emend to *θwalunāī \*vacajhyā mainyēuš* 'through the eloquence befitting Thy spirit', with \**vacajhyā* the instr. of *vacajhyā-* 'eloquence' = Ved. *vacasyā-*. Thus the line has a parallel sequence of \**vacajhyā* ... *dāyghā*. Good support also from RV. II 10.6cd ... *agnīm juhvā vacasyā* ... *johaviūni* 'I summon Agni with my tongue and its eloquence'. Mistake seems to arise from the development of \**vacajhyā* > \**vacajhē*; cf. *kaine* Vd. 15.11 from \**kanyā*, *sāujhē*

51.7 from *\*sānṛjhyā*, also *paouruyē* 30.3, 44.19 from *\*paouruyā* (cf. Bthlm. 1895, 157 §268.32). Subsequent normalization of *\*vacaijhē* to inf. *vaocaijhē* follows tendency to replace rare words by commonly known forms: cf. introd. p. 13 ff.

*sīšā* requires *tā*, agreeing with surrounding *āiš* and *yāiš*. Similarly, 48.2a *vaocā mōi yā tvāu vidvā* 'Tell to me (those things) which Thou knowest', 44.8b *māndāidyāi yā tōi ... ādīstīš* 'in order to bear in mind (that) which is Thy precept', etc.

*yāiš ā aghuṣ paouruyō havaṭ* 'by means of which the foremost existence shall come about'. On syntax of *yāiš ā*, cf. 32.3 *šyaoumni aipi* etc. The form *havaṭ* is orthographic for *\*huvāṭ*, since the sequence *-uva-* is written either as *-ava-* or *-va-*: cf. *yvānam yavāuam* Vr. 3.3, *kvaciṭ kavaciṭ* Y. 23.3, etc. Thus cognate with the Ved. aor. subj. *bhūvat* which, like the indie. *ābhūt* and perf. *babhūva*, is properly built with zero grade (differently, K. Hoffmann 1967, 236 fn 246). Similarly, *havaṭ* 30.9, *havaiti* 30.10, *havainti* 33.10 all require *hu-*. In these last passages excellent Mss. offer the alternate orthography *brvaṭ* etc., which I have adopted: cf. also *brvaiti* 45.7. In general, cf. introd. p. 19.

This explanation of *havaṭ* substantially aids in the understanding of the expression *aghūṣ paouruyō*, since the use of the subj. form clearly indicates that this state of existence has not yet taken place. Thus I do not believe with Lommel (1930, 144 ff.) that *aghūṣ paouruyō* is the 'first existence' in the sense of the 'spiritual existence of the present world' viewed as the time preceding the future existence, i.e. the time following the final judgment. Rather, I understood *aghūṣ paouruyō* 'the first existence' to mean 'the foremost existence', viz. the one ahead of all others in terms of its importance. This is the time when the rule of truth and good thinking (*xšaθrām volūi manayhā ašācā*) shall be brought to realization on earth (cf. 30.7-8), when deceit shall be destroyed forever (cf. 48.1-2), thus bringing on the 'good form of existence'. This 'good form of existence' (48.2d *aghūṣ vaṇulū ākərətīš*) and 'the foremost existence' are identical in my opinion, and both belong to the future. They are also called 'the best existence' (44.2b *aghūṣ vahīštahyā*) and 'the healed (or restored) existence' (*fərəšām ahūm* 30.9a, 34.15c).

Here it is important to note that Zarathustra employs *paourvya-* in the sense of *fratama-*, a word which does not occur in the Gāthās. This usage, however, is also common in the RV. for the cognate *pūrvyā-*. Cf. III 10.5ab *prā hōtre pūrvyām vāco, agnāye bharatā bhāt* 'Offer on high the foremost word to Agni, our Hotar', X 49.1a



*aham dām gṇatē pūrvyam vāsu* 'I gave the foremost wealth to the singer', etc. Thus, similar interpretation for 33.1a *yā dātā aṇhāuš paouruhyā* 'which are the laws of the foremost existence', 48.6d *ahurō aṇhāuš zqθōi paouruhyā* 'Lord at the birth of the foremost existence' and their variant 46.15d *yāiš dātāiš paouruyāiš ahurahyā* 'through which foremost laws of the Lord ...'. Also here: 44.11d *azēm tōi āiš paouruyō fravōivīdē* 'I have been accepted by them as Thy foremost (follower)'.

This hymn is essentially a supplication for help (1, 5, 9, 10-11), whose purpose is to destroy the fury wrought by the powers of deceit (1-2) and to bring about in its place peace and tranquility through the rule of good thinking and of truth (10-11). In it we also encounter the heavenly approval of Zarathustra (8) to be the chosen one to lead his followmen in this great task (11).

Of all the extant works of Zarathustra, this Gāthā has attracted the greatest attention of scholars, and justifiably so, since the content of the poem is unfolded in dramatic form, which places this work in a unique position among the prophet's surviving creative output. Yet, notwithstanding the care and concern expended upon the interpretation of this poem, many problems remain regarding the proper understanding of the message contained in its eleven verses. From the question of the identification of the cast of characters, through the problems pertaining to the development of the action depicted in the Gāthā, to the final assessment of the overall significance of its content, there still remains among these interrelated issues much that is unclear or uncertain in the previous treatments of this work. In the hope that a careful analysis can further clarify some of these troublesome problems, we begin our discussion of this Gāthā with a study of the personages and the action appearing in this poetic drama.

The opening action of the hymn is immediately placed in focus by the words of the narrator, *xšmaihyā gāuš urvā garəždā* 'To you the soul of the cow lamented'. Not only does this brief description set the general tone of helplessness which dominates the whole of the following Gāthā, but it equally signals the existence of the several parties who participate in the drama, here indicated by a contrast among the pronoun *xšmaihyā*, the specified soul of the cow and the unnamed narrator. The use of *xšmaihyā* anticipates the later appearance of *yūžəm* 'ye' in vss. 10 and 11, where it is employed with the voc. *ahurā* or *mazdā* occurring both times in close proximity with *ašəm* 'truth' and *vohū manō* 'good thinking'. Since each of these characters plays an active role in the ensuing development of the poem (vss. 2-3, 6-8), it is evident that the Wise Lord, truth and good thinking are included in this group first addressed. Furthermore, when the lamentations of the cow

at once provoke the fashioner of the cow (*gəuś taśā*) to question truth in the very next verse, we can conclude that he also belongs to the same group of heavenly personalities hidden behind the pronoun *xšmaibyā*. Who the fashioner of the cow really is cannot be ascertained from Y. 29 alone, since he makes this single appearance in the drama which merely mentions his responsiveness to the cow and quotes his words directed to truth. However, both 31.9ab *θwā ā gəuś taśā \*aś.xratuś mainyuś* 'Thine (= AhM.) was to be the fashioner of the cow, that spirit of great determination' and 47.3ab *ahyā mainyāuś tvām alī tā spəntō yā ... gəm ... hām.tašaṭ* 'Thou (= AhM.) art the virtuous Father of this spirit which fashioned the cow' allow us to readily identify the fashioner of the cow with the virtuous spirit (cf. also 51.7ab *yā gəm taśō ... spəntištā mainyū mazdā*). Thus the personages to whom the cow complains comprise the intimate circle of the Wise Lord, the virtuous spirit (his motivating force), and truth and good thinking (the foremost moral principles which he represents).

The identification of the cow is discussed later in the introduction, where it is argued that she is a metaphorical representation of 'the good vision' (*vaṇuḥ daēnā*). Here we wish to stress with Humbach (1958, 52 ff. and 1959, II 12), that in the singular the stem *gao-* typically refers to a cow in the Gāthās, since this word is referred to anaphorically by fem. pronouns in 31.9ab *gəuś taśā ... aliyāi* and 48.5d *gavōi ... təm* (48.6a *hā*), or combined with an unambiguous fem. adj. at 50.2ab *gəm ... vāstravaitīm*. Therefore, the cow appearing in 1a. 9a *gəuś urvā*, 2a *gəuś taśā*, 3a. 7b *gavōi* must be the same figure described as *gəuś(cā) azyā* in 5b *mā urvā gəuścā azyā* 'my soul and that of the fertile cow'. This excludes the possibility of interpreting the phrase *mā urvā gəuścā azyā* as spoken by a bull (the great Urrind) in the company of its mother cow, which latter character would otherwise play no role in this or any other Gāthā. Rather, *mā urvā* 'my soul' in vs. 5 must be compared to the diction of 44.8e *mā urvā*, 50.1a *mōi urvā* and 28.4a *urvanəm*, where this phrase constantly refers to Zarathustra himself (so Humbach, op. cit.), and similarly identified there with the prophet who is named in the course of Y. 29.

As to the narrator, there can be little doubt that the impersonal voice describing the progress of the action is that of Zarathustra. For he alone has truly understood the lamentable condition into which the world has fallen under the forces of deceit and he alone has been the first to realize that help and support for mankind can come

only through the intercession of the Wise One and his good forces. His identification emerges from the discussion of the dramatic evolution described in the poem which follows. But let us note here that the prophet manipulates the scenes with great psychological control by not speaking in his own personal voice until he has been accepted as the protector of the cow by both the heavenly powers and the cow herself.

The succession of events in the first 3 verses forms an integrated development which can be paraphrased in the following fashion. Lamenting to the Wise Lord and his close circle, the cow asks them why she has been created, if she is to remain in the oppression of the cruel and violent forces of deceit on earth. Since no mortal has come forth to protect her in this deplorable condition, she must turn to her heavenly benefactors and entreat them to offer the means for her to survive (1). These plaintive words instantly arouse the virtuous spirit, who bears the responsibility for the cow's existence, to ask truth whether this is a proper judgment for the cow. He singles out truth from among the group of his allies insofar as it must be truth itself who best understands that this judgment for the cow in no way befits the truth as it should be. In contrast, the spirit continues by way of his further questions, a proper judgment would exist if all of those who placed her on earth — the Wise Lord, good thinking and truth — could also provide care for her through a protector and master capable of destroying the oppressive forces directed at the cow (2). In vs. 3 truth accedes that the virtuous spirit's proposal is correct indeed, and that he and his companions would assist such a person, but a human mighty enough to protect the cow has not been found among yonder mortals. There only exists widespread hostility in the world of mankind.

Verse 4 follows with a statement that the Wise Lord always heeds his agreements, no matter with whom they have been concluded, and that he is the one and only decisive lord who disposes as he wishes. This verse has been traditionally regarded as a continuation of truth's answer in vs. 3, namely, that the truly decisive issue concerning the fate of the cow lies in the hands of the Wise Lord, to whom the fashioner of the cow must now turn. But two things speak against such an interpretation. First, the major part of the verse treats the theme of the Wise Lord's adherence to his word, yet there has been no mention of any promise or agreement in the preceding development of the hymn which can be underscored now with reference to this motif. Second, it is not possible to envision that the final phrase

*aθā nā aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* 'So shall it be for us as He shall wish it' can be spoken by truth. Such a statement belongs only in the mouth of man, for it is a clear affirmation that this worldly design, for better or for worse, truly lies in the powers of heaven.

For these reasons it seems best to me to combine vs. 4 with the opening of vs. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā mō urvā gōušcā azyā* 'Thus indeed did we two continue to pray to the Lord with outstretched hands, namely, my self and that of the fertile cow (= I and the fertile cow)'. Above we have noted that the dual subject *mō urvā gōušcā azyā* requires the interpretation of Zarathustra and the cow (cf. also the elliptic dual in 46.19d *gāvā azī* = Zarathustra and the cow), and it becomes understandable at once that the content of vs. 4, which we have described as only appropriate to the words of mortals, pertains to Zarathustra's trust in his god, expressed in his prayers mentioned in vs. 5 and uttered in the company of the cow. Furthermore, when the purpose of the prayers is described in vs. 5 as a means to move the Wise One to answer the questions of whether there is to be a future or survival for the cow's pastor and protector as well, we immediately see the link with the preceding statement *aθā nā aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* of vs. 4. Be the answer yes or no, it is nonetheless the will of god, a will imposed upon the lowly beings on earth.

Two problems remain as yet unanswered. What is the reason for stressing the Wise Lord's nature to honor his agreements? Why does Zarathustra speak in vss. 4-5, when he is first mentioned in vs. 8 below? These will be explained in the course of the following discussion.

Verse 6, in which the Wise Lord is the speaker, contains answers to the two questions originally posed by the fashioner of the cow to truth in vs. 2. That is, the Wise One relates that no earthly master has been found by anyone among his kind (*nōiṭ aēvā ahū vīstō* responds to 2c *kām hōi uštā ahurəm*), nor a judgment befitting the truth (*naēclā ratuš ašūcīṭ hacū* responds to 2a *kaθā tōi* [= *ašahyā*] *gavōi ratuš*). To whom can he be speaking? It cannot be either truth or the fashioner of the cow, since both already know the answers from vs. 3. Nor can it be good thinking, who does not appear until later and who does not ask any questions. Nor can it be Zarathustra and the cow, who are the subjects of vs. 5. For these two have asked whether there is not to be a future for the pastor, and the Wise Lord's answers concern the survival of the cow, certainly an inappropriate response. The only possible resolution to this problem, as I view the matter, is that the

Wise Lord is responding to the cow alone, and this suggestion is supported by the use of the pronoun *θwā* in the first line *aī zī θwā fšuyantaēcā vāstryāicā θwōraštā tatašā* 'However, the fashioner did fashion *thee* for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor'. For the use of *θwā* is an ill suited form of address to the preceding dual subject explicitly mentioned in vs. 5.

This signifies that vs. 6 must originally have followed directly after vs. 3. Placing vs. 6 in this position continues the logical development of the action very clearly. Once truth has reported, in vs. 3, to the virtuous spirit the unfortunate lack of a mighty mortal, this sorrowful news is conveyed to the cow directly by the Wise Lord. Yet he goes on to reassure her that a protector will be forthcoming, since her fashioner did foresee the need for such care. This is an important point, for these words are truly a promise to the cow and constitute the underpinnings of the allusion to the Wise Lord's adherence to his agreements appearing in vs. 4. However, vss. 4-5 cannot follow immediately upon vs. 6 because of the aforementioned appearance of Zarathustra in these two connected stanzas.

Rather, vs. 7 continues the action of vs. 6 quite correctly, insofar as a promise is mentioned in its opening words, *tām āzūtōiš ahurō mǫθrām tataš ... mazdā gavōi xšvīdamecā* 'This promise of butter and milk did the Wise Lord fashion for the cow'. Through the use of the anaphoric pron. *tām*, this statement must refer to the previous words of Ahura Mazda, *aī zī θwā fšuyantaēcā* etc. Thus the narrator begins vs. 7 with the affirmation that the Wise Lord indeed promised the cow that there would be strength and prosperity for her in her world (butter and milk are metaphoric), and he explains that this promise is in harmony with the Wise One's benevolent nature shown for the needy. The direct quotation which ends the verse, *kastē vohū manayhā yā ī dāyāī ādāvā marataēihyō* 'Who has been found by thee, good thinking, who might deliver these things (or, these two = butter and milk?) down to (yon) mortals?', must be the words of the Wise Lord. They express his attempt to fulfill his solemn word to the cow by turning to good thinking for a solution. This act forms a balanced counterpart to the attempt of the virtuous spirit (the fashioner of the cow) to do so earlier by enlisting the aid of truth to resolve the woeful fate of the cow.

There naturally follows the answer of good thinking given in vs. 8. Zarathustra is the one who can aid the cow, for he alone in his insight has hearkened to the words of the one true god and his forces.

Moreover, he also wishes to spread the fame of these heavenly forces among his fellowmen through praise for and instruction in the principles which they represent. Herein lies the essential difference between truth and good thinking. Whereas truth, in an uncompromising way, sought might as the only solution to protect the cow (cf. 3bc *nōi viduyē ... hvō aojištō*) against the equally mighty destructive forces of deceit, good thinking recognized, in his selection of the understanding prophet as the cow's protector, that the eventual overthrow of deceit must depend upon the growth of reason and understanding in mankind. Namely, a further show of strength in the world leads only to further antagonism, but the human condition can be elevated for the better by the exercise of good thinking.

The choice of Zarathustra by good thinking subsequently evokes the response of the cow in vs. 9, who complains once again that her appointed master is apparently powerless, although she has longed for him to be a mighty protector. Her stance follows the argument: What good are such fine words, even if they embody the highest principles, when they issue from a man who has no real power? Thus she entreats the heavenly ones to send someone who can offer the needed support of strength to her new found master. The cow seemingly takes truth's side in the question of the means required for the ultimate victory.

To my mind, vss. 6-9, as just described, constitute a coherent succession of events, which attaches itself quite logically to the opening vss. 1-3. In vs. 6 Ahura Mazdā informs the cow of truth's inability to find an adequate protector, but he goes on to promise her that there indeed shall be one. Verse 7 then underscores this promise and relates how the Wise Lord turns to good thinking to help him fulfill his word. Verse 8 reveals good thinking's answer to that promise: Zarathustra is the one to be the cow's master. Finally in vs. 9 the cow accepts Zarathustra, however reluctantly, as her master and entreats for further support. It is at this point that the conjoined vss. 4-5 naturally belong, and precisely here for the following reasons. Once the impersonal narrator, who has described the succession of events in the new sequence of verses 1-3, 6-9, has been named as Zarathustra in vs. 8 and has been accepted by the cow in vs. 9, he can then speak personally as *mā urvā* in the company of the cow, as indeed is the case in vs. 5. But, more importantly, the preoccupation in the beginning of the connected vs. 4 with the Wise Lord's adherence to his agreements can only have direct reference to the promise which he made in vs. 6

and which is immediately repeated at the start of vs. 7. Furthermore, if we remember that the final words of the cow in vs. 9 ask whether someone shall come to aid her powerless master, then we can view this supplication as a prelude to the following question in newly placed vs. 5 which enquires whether there shall not be a future for the cattle-breeder. For both phrases ask the same basic question, yet the latter one (of vs. 5) is attached to a verse intoning the truth that Ahura Mazda is the first to heed his promises. Its citation by Zarathustra and the cow is thus intended to remind the Wise Lord to hearken to his already given promise to send aid. For if this god has promised real support to the cow, he must also protect her master as well.

No answer comes directly from Ahura Mazda because Zarathustra immediately suggests, by his supplications in the final vss. 10-11, what means are required to guarantee the survival of the caretaker of the cow and, by implication, of the cow herself. He thus answers this question by his entreaty for both strength and the rule in harmony with truth and good thinking for the people on earth (*aēihyō* resumes *avaēšqm hātqm* of vs. 4). This is the combination of the individual solutions offered by truth and good thinking earlier, and it reflects the position that the good rule on earth, although it be founded upon truth and good thinking, must be backed by the necessary power to bring it to realization. Here, it seems, the cow has effectively convinced the prophet of the real need for a show of strength. Only in this way, Zarathustra continues, shall there be peace and tranquility in the world of man, thus freeing the cow from the oppressive state she described and lamented over in the opening vs. of the Gāthā. In the final verse the prophet repeats his preceding entreaties by supplicating for the advent of truth and good thinking and their rule on earth. By his omission of strength or power, he returns somewhat to his earlier stance, reflected in the words of good thinking, that reason and understanding alone may suffice to bring about the good way of life. To stress this point, he beseeches the Wise One and his allies to acknowledge all those others whose insight and proper thinking have prepared them for the great task which lies ahead. At the conclusion, the prophet promises a gift to Ahura Mazda and his forces if they intercede. This can only be piety (*ārmaitiś*) and obedience (*sraošō*), as yet left unmentioned in the great scheme of cooperation between man and god described in this Gāthā, which are the unique gifts man can actively offer to god. For the power of god is only as strong as the belief men place in him (cf. 28.3, 31.6, etc.).



Accepting this necessary reordering and explanation of the basic drama depicted in Y. 29, we must nevertheless seek a reason for the apparent rearrangement of the verses of the Gāthā. Here too an answer can be found without great difficulty. Namely, the similarity of 5c *nōiḥ fšuyentē dragvasū pairī* with 6c *aḥ zī θwā fšuyantaēcā*, as well as the appearance of *ahurō* in 4c, *ahurāi.ā* in 5a and *ahurō* in 6a and 7a, motivated the redactors of this hymn to present in order those verses which contained similar diction. This process is in no way different from the ordering of Y. 31 after Y. 30 because the former Gāthā begins *tā vā urvātā marəntō* and the latter one ends *hyaḥ tā urvātā sašaθā* (30.11a), and likewise the placement of Y. 50 after Y. 49 based upon the textual similarities of 49.12a *kaḥ tōi ašā zbayentē avayhō* and 50.1a *kaḥ nōi urvā isē caliyā avayhō*. Undoubtedly the same principle is at work in both sorts of situations.

Before we can truly determine the significance of the drama unfolded in Y. 29, it is necessary to identify the figure of the cow who plays such an important role in this hymn and elsewhere in the Gāthās. Valuable progress in this direction has been contributed by Cameron (1968), who has recognized that the terms cow and herdsman (cattle-breeder, pastor) are consistently employed in metaphoric usage by Zarathustra throughout his poetry. Cameron rightly stresses (267 ff.) that it would be surprising to find embedded amid such exalted and serious verse constant reference to the mere protection and preservation of cattle, which in fact never prospered well in the barrenness of Iran, or to encounter impassioned statements on Zarathustra's part against the followers of another religious faith whose ritual centered around the slaying of animals and the drinking of the intoxicating Haoma beverage (Lommel's position, last defined in 1971, 32 ff.). He thus concludes (270 ff.) that the cow is a symbol for 'God's flock' and that the herdsman is an energetic member of this flock who follows the will of God in thought, word and deed.

Although I approve of Cameron's metaphoric understanding of cow and herdsman, and accept for the most part his definition of the role of the pastor, it is on the question of the underlying nature of the cow that I disagree with him. For I do not believe that the cow can be a symbol for humanity, because Zarathustra makes it quite clear in his poetry that the cow is a benevolent force which must be sought after by the truthful man (50.2), and which shall be given to the honestly living person as a reward in order to save his fellowman from the forces of deceit (50.3). In this way the figure of the cow approaches in

essence the Lord-created values of truth and good thinking, whose quest for and realization on earth is the task of the righteous man (29.10, 31.4, 47.2, 51.1, etc.), and which shall bring on the defeat of deceit (31.4, 48.1, etc.). Similarly, when 51.5-6 juxtapose in antithetical fashion the notions of a person who shall serve the cow in accordance with truth and of a person who shall not serve the Wise Lord, the reverence to be allotted to the cow comes very near to that of Ahura Mazdā himself in importance. Thus the cow in origin seems to belong to a higher world than that of man, and her appearance on earth and her required attention are for the purposes of bringing nourishment and peace to the faithful (48.5-6), much as the attainment of good thinking and truth in the mortal world are to accomplish these very same aims (29.10, 33.5, 34.12-14, etc.).

This line of reasoning leads me to believe that the cow is an allegorical figure for the *vayuhī daēnā* 'the good vision' (51.17, 53.1.3), the conception of the foremost existence belonging to the immortal forces (45.11, 49.6), and one which the Wise Lord granted to the savior Zarathustra (53.2). It is the conception which is best for those who exist (44.10), and entails the pious and faithful worship of the Wise One and his allies (44.10, 49.5, etc.), in order that he grant the rule of good thinking and of truth on earth (29.10, 31.4, 51.18). The whole outlook of Zarathustra on these points is aptly summarized in 51.21: 'Virtuous is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words and actions, his conception. Virtuous is truth and the rule of good thinking. The Wise Lord created this, and I shall entreat Him for this good reward'. This verse also clarifies the content of 33.3 which states that the man serving the cow with zeal shall be on the *pasture* of truth and good thinking. For the person who dedicates himself to Ahura Mazdā and to the values of truth and good thinking which the Wise One created, represents and sustains is the one who strengthens the power of his god by granting meaning and significance to the very qualities which characterize the true nature of the Wise Lord. He is the pastor, the man of faith and piety, the champion of what is good and proper, who tends and promotes the good conception of a world governed by truth and good thinking by his own active involvement in his own world through these lordly principles conceived by wisdom and aroused by a spirit of virtue. In this way he gives life to the essence of his god on earth, whereby the whole human condition is elevated towards a better existence.

The questions now to determine are whether Zarathustra was able

to employ such metaphoric imagery in his poetry and whether the cow is indeed an appropriate symbol for the good vision. We can give affirmative answers to both these questions, in my view, by returning once again to the diction of Y. 29. For there we see that, once the cow has lamented her pitiable state to the heavenly forces and demanded their support expressed as good pasturage, the guarantee of protection is described as 'the promise of butter and milk' in vs. 7. Yet, can the Wise Lord have truly intended to relieve her suffering by offering to her butter and milk, if these terms are to be interpreted literally? What possible good could these have served to free her from the oppression of deceit? None, in any realistic view of the situation. Rather, as suggested above, the terms butter and milk require the metaphoric interpretation of strength and prosperity, for these are exactly the conditions which can free the cow from her bondage and which are directly expressed at the end of the Gāthā as 10ab *aogō ... ašā xšaθrəmcā avaŋ vohū manəhā*. Similarly, when we turn to 49.5ab *aŋ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūitišcā yā daēnəm vohū sārəštā manəhā* 'Yes, Wise One, that person is both milk and butter (for Thee), who has allied his conception with good thinking', are we to accept the parallel 'milk and butter' only on face value? This is clearly not possible, and we are forced again to view these terms in their metaphoric sense of strength and prosperity as before.

At this point we can combine both ideas. If milk and butter, those products which issue from the cow, are utilized by Zarathustra in his poetry to express strength and prosperity, then does not the cow, the very source of these products, equally represent that entity or capacity which can provide the signaled strength and prosperity? When the Gāthās constantly stress the message, as we remarked above, that only the good vision, that is, the view of the world governed by truth and good thinking, shall prosper the creatures, is the best for those who exist, shall bring good fortune to the peoples, etc., then can we not conclude that the cow and the good vision are equivalent entities? The parallelism of both sets of terms cow : butter and milk and good vision : peace, tranquility, prosperity etc. speaks for just this identification with which I feel obliged to operate in reaching a proper understanding of the message of Y. 29.

Accepting the true nature of the cow, we can return to a new assessment of some important points described in this remarkable Gāthā.

Verse 1 really expresses the notion that although the idea of ruler-

ship through truth and good thinking exists on earth, the forces of deceit have prevented men from bringing this good rule to realization. This corresponds to the prophet's own lament throughout the Gāthās.

The major problem concerning vs. 2 is why the virtuous spirit is the fashioner of the cow, whereas Ahura Mazda is elsewhere depicted as the creator of everything, including truth and good thinking. The answer lies in the realization that it has been the awakening of a virtuous spirit in Zarathustra himself, so eloquently described in Y. 43, which brought the prophet to understand that this worldly salvation depends upon the institution of truth and good thinking among men. In this measure the virtuous spirit is truly the creator of the good vision in the world of the prophet. Note as well that in addressing truth and his allies as *xšayantō*, there is a direct allusion to the phrase *ašā xšaθram avat volū manayhā* appearing later in vs. 10ab.

Why truth is seeking, in vs. 3, for strength alone to further the good vision is difficult to answer, but it is this quality which is characteristically associated with truth in the Gāthās. Cf. 34.4a *ātrām ... aōjōghvantām ašā* and especially 43.16c *astva! ašām liyā! uštānā aōjōnghva!* among other citations. However, it cannot be said that truth's inability to uncover a master reflects a basic disinterest in or distance from the problems of humanity (cf. Duchesne 1973, 101). He does admit that he would assist such a person and he does join the Wise Lord in vs. 7 to promise help for the cow. Perhaps the proper understanding of truth's position is to be sought in the fact that he represents a state of perfection, both physical and mental (of the two existences repeated in the Gāthās), which is difficult to achieve by a single man and which forms the characterization of Ahura Mazda as *yā savištō ahurō mazdāscā* 'who is the mightiest and wise lord' at 33.11a. Thus, whereas good thinking is willing to accept Zarathustra's insight as reason alone to appoint him master of the cow, truth cannot accept this compromise at first.

Verse 6 essentially contains the reassurance that the good vision shall be fulfilled on earth, the only promise of this given in all of the Gāthās. And vss. 7-8 continue this notion by affirming that it is Zarathustra who shall bring this to pass insofar as he has been the first to hearken to the true solutions to the problems of existence. These verses are of equal importance because they reveal the heavenly acceptance of Zarathustra as the true prophet of Ahura Mazda and his teachings.

When the good vision complains in vs. 9 that words alone are not

sufficient means to bring about the good rule, this thought corresponds directly to Zarathustra's entreaty in 44.9: 'How shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the lord of a blessed dominion — someone of great power like Thee, Wise Lord — would decree by reason of his lofty rule?'. It is the realization that force must be added to reason in order to further the prophet's ideas. Verses 4-5, which must follow here, continue the same motif, but express it from all possible sides. Namely, the prophet, his conception and his god all wish this to come about.

In the final 2 verses Zarathustra abandons the drama and directly entreats for the advent of the rule of truth and good thinking for all other mortals who have understood the importance of these principles in their lives. Thus, whereas the purpose of the former part of the Gāthā has been to explain the origin and current state of the good vision and the recognition of Zarathustra as its heavenly appointed prophet, the finale is intended to move Ahura Mazda to offer this means of earthly salvation to other men. Support for the good rule must stem from the cooperation of others on earth in whom awareness and insight have likewise awakened.

It is difficult to say exactly why the image of the cow was chosen to represent the concept of a world motivated by truth and good thinking. Dumézil (1965, 23 ff.) has pointed out that the lamentations of the cow in Y. 29 correspond to a widely diffused theme in Indo-Iranian folklore characterized by the complaint of a cow (or bull etc.) to a lofty god bemoaning the cruel and harsh fate which has befallen her lot. Consequently, he sees the existence of this motif behind the construct of this Gāthā and Zarathustra's general employment of the allegorical use of the cow throughout his poetry, which in Dumézil's view is an adaptation and exploitation of the underlying myth. There may be some truth to his opinion, but it is difficult to determine, especially so, since the cow is not the only personage who laments in the Gāthās nor the only character who incessantly supplicates for assistance. All of the actions of the cow in Y. 29 are equally appropriate to Zarathustra himself. He laments the treachery and degradation caused by the deceitful spirit in Y. 32.9 (note 32.9c *yušmaibya gərəzē* mirrors 29.1a *xšmaibya gəuš urvā gərəzdā*), and likewise complains in 46.2 about his general powerless condition (note 46.2a *vaēdā taṭ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō* is an avatar of 29.9a *aṭcā gəuš urvā raostā yā anaēšam* \**xšnuqm* \**mānā*). Similarly, the prophet entreats his lofty gods for help and support throughout the Gāthās, and the expression of the

particular request in 31.4bc *vahištā \*išā manayhā maibyō xšaθrām aōjōnghvaṭ* corresponds to the supplication of the cow in 29.10a *yūzēm aēibyō ahurā uogō dātā ašā xšaθrāmēcā avaṭ vohū manayhā*. Thus we are faced with the dilemma: Has Zarathustra modified his whole approach in the Gāthās after the prototype of the folklore drama of the cow crystallized in Y. 29 or has he cast Y. 29 in a dramatic form intended to reflect his basic emotions concerning the deplorable state of his world?

I tend to believe the latter alternative insofar as the lamentations of the cow in Y. 29 can be viewed as the attempt to present the complementary notion to the expression of Zarathustra's enduring determination to bring to realization his own special idea of a world founded upon truth and good thinking which characterizes the message of the Gāthās. What the prophet and poet has achieved in this remarkable hymn is the presentation of the reverse side of the coin. Namely, by creating a work in which he expresses the desire of the good vision itself to reach fulfillment, he has provided a model to justify his own ends, to offer him and his supporters the belief and faith that their devotion and efforts are not an useless cause founded upon the greedy and destructive motives which dominate the behavior of their deceitful adversaries. Rather, the construction of Y. 29 embodies the noble thoughts that the vision of a world of truth and good thinking has been created by the Wise Lord through his spirit of virtue and has been presented to the world of man as a means of salvation, and that the Wise One and his forces have promised their assistance in bringing this godly idea to fruition, as it deserves and as it so desires itself.

This still leaves unanswered the question of the exact choice of the image of the cow. However, if we examine those passages in the Gāthās where there are mentioned the direct benefits the cow shall bring to the world of man, these passages seem to express a uniform theme: The cow shall bring peace to the world. We see this in 48.6a *hā zī nā hušōiθamā* 'She shall bring peace to us' and in the question 50.2ab *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skərəitīm gəm \*išōiṭ, yā hīm ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ* 'How, Wise One, shall a person seek the joy-bringing cow, namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage (= peace) to him?' And in the direct context of Y. 29.10, we notice the pointed supplication for the rule *yā hušaitiš rāmāmcā dāṭ* 'through which one shall bring peace and tranquility'. Herein, I believe, lies the answer to the choice of the cow as symbol for the rule of truth and good thinking. The peaceful and tranquil nature of the cow represents the prototype

of those attributes which can best serve the need of man in constructing a peaceful society for himself through the institution of truth and good thinking. Although cows may not have prospered in Iran, the whole use of pastoral vocabulary in the Gāthās surely provides evidence for their presence in the land, and thus the nature of the cow, undoubtedly well known to his audience, could function as a meaningful symbol for Zarathustra in his poetry.

29.1. *ā mā aēšāmō hazascā rāmō hišāyā dārāscā tavišcā* 'The cruelty of fury and violence, of bondage and might, holds me in captivity'. Omit *cā* after *dārāš*; cf. A.-W. (1931, 320). The subject of *ā ... hišāyā* is *rāmō*, with *aēšāmō hazascā* and *dārāš tavišcā* each in apposition to this term.

The perf. *ā hišāyā* belongs to *hi* 'bind' (cf. SI. 1971, 580 f.), but this root has already acquired the special meaning 'capture' in the Gāthās. Besides our passage, we have 32.14ab *ā.hōiθōi ni kāvayasciṭ xratūš dadaṭ \*varācahicā* 'even the Kavis have fixed their intentions on the capture and plunder ...', 45.6b *drūjō hvō dāmān haēθahyā gāṭ* 'he shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity'. Similarly, for *ā hā* in 32.16c *dragvatō ... aṭhāyā* (orig. *\*āṭhāyayā*) 'if I might capture the deceitful'. Meaning attested also for the root *si* in the RV.: VIII 67.8a *mā naḥ sētuḥ siṣed ayām* 'May this trap not capture us'.

*aθā mōi sṣtā vohū \*vāstrā* (Mss. *vāstryā*) 'Therefore appear to me with good pasturage'. *sṣtā* and *sṣs* 43.11, 46.19 best belong to the root *sand* 'seem, please'; the s-aor. *sṣs* and yAv. pres. *saḍayeiti* = Ved. *āchān* and *chadāyati*. There seems to be no evidence at all for the assumption of a root *sand* 'vollziehen': *sastē* 30.8, 46.12 and *sazdyāi* 30.2, 51.16 are inf.s. from *sauh* 'declare'; cf. 30.2 (final para.). *sāndā* 51.14 is a noun meaning 'pleasure'; cf. passage for disc.

Emendation of *vāstryā* to *\*vāstrā* is required; the former word is otherwise always trisyllabic, which is metrically unfavorable here.

29.2. *kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš* 'Is thy judgment for the cow (to be) in this way?'. *kaθā*, with value 'is it in this (such a) way?', also appears in 44.2b *kaθā aṭhāuš valištahyā paourvīm* 'Is the foundation of the best existence in such a way (that) ...?'. It is thus a shortening of *kaṭ aθā*. *kaṭ* usually functions as a particle of questioning: cf. 48.2c *kaṭ ašavā ... vānghaṭ dragvantām* 'Shall the truthful defeat the deceitful?', 50.1a *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō* 'Does my person have control over anyone who has help (to offer)?', etc.

*hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō* 'always (to be) cow-caring zeal by a pastor', *hadā* is only adverb 'always' = Ved. *sādā* (similarly, Benveniste 1945, 51 ff.). Cf. 50.4ab *aī vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā hadā ašā vahištācā manazjā* 'Yes, praising, I shall worship you, Wise Lord, always with truth and the very best thinking' and RV. III 54.21a *sādā sugāḥ piturnāḥ astu pānthāḥ* 'Let the path always be easy to travel and full of food', VII 1.20d *yūyām pāta svastibhiḥ sādā naḥ* 'Protect us always with welfare', etc.

The form *vāstrā* here is instr. of *vāstar-* 'pastor', corresponding to nom. *vāstā* in the preceding verse, and it is immediately resumed by the following word *ahurām*. The syntax of *vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō* 'cow-caring zeal by a pastor' is thus exactly parallel to the following *dragvō.dabīš aēšamam* 'fury by the deceitful', where it is intentional that *vāstrā* and *dragvō.dabīš*, *gaodāyō θwaxšō* and *aēšamam* are contrasting terms. The stem *vāstar-* also is required at 47.3 \**vāstrē* (Mss. *vāstrāi*). The fig. *gaodāyō θwaxšō* corresponds to 33.3b *vidus vā θwaxšayhā gavōi*. For disc., cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acišā* etc.

29.3. *ahmāi ašā nōi sarajā advaēšō gavōi paiti.mravaī* 'To him did they reply through truth: "There is no help free of enmity for the cow"', *nōi sarajā advaēšō gavōi* is direct speech; the rest is narrative. Framing of direct speech also occurs at 43.8a *aī hōi aoji zaraθuštrō paourvīm* 'Then I first said to him: "(I am) Zarathustra"', 32.14c *hyaicā gāuš jaidyāi mraoi* '... as well as to say: "The cow is to be killed"', etc.

The form *paiti.mravaī* is 3pl. imperf. of *paiti mru* 'reply', and has been formed in analogy to the proterodyne 3pl. \**stavaī* (cf. Narten 1968, 9 ff.), owing to the merger in vocalism of *mraomī* and *staomī* etc. (cf. SI. 1972a, 64). Similar forms appear in the 3pl. imperf. *syazdaī* 34.9 and the 3pl. aor. *xraodaī* 46.11. The change to the 3pl. form *mravaī* has been motivated by the fact that the preceding question has moved from 2sg. (*kaθā tōi ratus*) to 2pl. (*dātā xšayantō; kām uštā*); correct, Gershevitch (1952, 174 f.). For the difficult *sarajā*, I follow Bthlm. (1904, 1566) in positing a stem *sarajan-* (-*gan-*), but I take it as a neut. 'help', with *advaēšō* (= Ved. *adveśās-*) modifying it.

*avaēšqm nōi viduyē* etc. *avaēšqm nōi viduyē* belongs immediately together with the following *hātqm hvō aojištō*, with the first rel. clause interposed. This syntactic feature is characteristic of this Gāthā and is also found in the following verse, where *mazdā saxārā mairištō* and *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* are a syntactic unit, with the *yā zī* clause again interposed; again in vs. 8, where *aēm mōi idā vistō* and *zaraθuštrō*



*spitāmō* belong together and the *yā nā aēvō* ... clause occupies a position between both parts of the syntactic unit. Note also the identical syntax in 46.19ab *yā mōi ašāt haiθīm hacā varāšaitī | zaraθuštrāi hyaṭ vasnā fərušā.təməm*, where the pre-caesura *zaraθuštrāi* in the 2nd line belongs with *mōi* in the 1st line. Cf. also 47.4 (final para.).

*yā šavaitē ādrāng ərašvāyḥō* 'through whom the lofty are to activate the lowly'. Idea corresponds to 44.17bc *kaθā mazdā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ āskaitūn xšmākəm* 'How, Wise One, shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'.  
 The form *šavaitē* cannot be 3pl. pres. because of the subj. form in the following *yahmāi jimā*. Indic. and subj. cannot stand in parallel in rel. clauses of such future value, only modal forms or inf. Cf. 33.2ab *yā akəm ... zastōibyā vā varāšaiti vayhāu vā cōiθaitē astūm* 'Who shall bring about what is evil with his hands or (who) shall enlighten his guest in the good', 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... yā sruyē* 'Come ye hither to me, by reason of which I am to become famed ...', etc. Syntax of *nōiṭ viduyē hvō aojištō yā šavaitē ādrāng ərašvāyḥō* 'That strongest one is not to be found through whom ...' is thus similar to 31.3bc *taṭ nō ... vidvanōi vaacā ... yā jvantō vīspāng vāurayā* 'Speak in order for us to know that thing through which I might convert all the living', with its correct modal opt. Thus *šavaitē* is an inf. of the type *sastē* 30.8 (q.v. for disc.), and the underlying stem is *šavati-* (suffix *-atī*), comparable to Ved. *amāti-* 'force', *aṃhati-* 'narrowness', yAv. *aiwi.varati-* 'overflow', etc.

*ādra-* 'lowly' contrasts with *ərašva-* 'lofty' exactly as do Ved. cognates *ādhrá-* and *ṛṣvā-*. Both *ādra-* and Ved. *ādhrá-* continue Indoír. *\*ādhrá-*, simply a sec. deriv. to *\*adhar* 'below'; cf. *adara-* = Ved. *ādhará-* 'inferior, lower'. This *\*adhar* is thus parallel to *avarā* 'below' = Ved. *avár*, Ved. *upár-i* 'above', etc. In our verse the *ādrāng* 'lowly' are those who live on earth (*avaēšqm hātqm* 'yon beings'), the *ərašvāyḥō* 'lofty' are the ones who live in heaven.

*yahmāi zavāng jimā kərədušā* 'to whom I of attentive ear shall come at his calls'. The difficult *kərədušā* I take as nom. sg. of a deriv. stem *kərəd-uš-* 'of ready, attentive ear', where the underlying *kərəd-uš-* is similar to Ved. *śrūt-karṇa-* 'of listening ear'. Cf. RV. VII 32.5a *śrávac chritkarṇaḥ* 'The one of listening ears shall listen', VIII 45.17bc *śrūtkarṇaṇi sántam ūtáye, dūrād ihā huvāmahe* 'The one of listening ears (= attentive one) do we call hither from the distance for help', etc. employed in similar context. Thus a form like yAv. *sruṭ.gaoša-*.

29.4. *mazdā sax'ārē mairištō* and *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* belong together

syntactically; cf. preceding verse. *sax'ārā* is neut. pl. of a stem *sax'ar/n-* 'word', also appearing in 53.5a *\*sāx'ān \*i ... kainibyō mraomī* 'I tell these words to the girls'. Cf. also Sogd. *swγw* 'parole'. Here used as the word of god, it is clearly 'promise, agreement'.

*vāvarazōi* and *varāšaitē* need not be passive, since med. *vz* is trans. in 33.1ab *varāšaitē ... šyaoθanā razistā* 'it will bring to realization the most just acts'. 51.1c *taṭ ... varāšānē*. 53.3d *spāništā ... \*hūdānū \*varāšvā* 'bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts)', etc. With Benveniste (1954a, 26), I believe *vz* means only 'bring to realization', never simply 'do'. Cf. also caus. in 45.4c *vayhōuš varāzayantō manayhō* 'of effective good thinking'; also *varaz-* 'effectiveness' in 45.9c *varazī nā dyaṭ ahurō* 'May the Lord place us in effectiveness', *hvaršta-* 'good effect' and *dužvaršta-* 'ill effect' both 49.4, *dužvarāšīnah-* 'of ill effects' 53.8.

I take the enigmatic *pairi.ciθiṭ* and *aipi.ciθiṭ* to be adverbs, and relate the latter to Ved. *apicyā-* 'secret'; *pairi.ciθiṭ* must be the opposite 'openly'. Humbach's interpretation (1959, II 15) of *ciθiṭ* as opt. is not possible, since such forms only occur with (descriptive) full grade before *-iṭ*: *daiḍiṭ sāhiṭ vainiṭ zahiṭ* (= *\*zāhiṭ*).

This whole verse is the prayer referred to in the following verse, for it is impossible that the final statement *aθā nō aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* 'As He shall wish it, so shall it be for us' can be spoken by truth. It belongs in the mouth of men, and its purpose is to remind AhM. to fulfill all the agreements which he has concluded with gods and men. Benveniste (1967, 144 ff.) has shown that in the context of the Gāthās the word *daēva-* still has the meaning 'god', but with the overtone of 'false god', and represents a divinity of some competing religious system. According to Burrow (1973, 128 ff.) most likely those of the Indian system, which he believes still existed in Eastern Iran.

29.5. *ahvā ... frinamnā ahurāi.ā* 'as we two continued to pray to the Lord'. The construction with the root *ah* and a pres. part. to express 'to continue to' is similar to Ved. *tiṣṭhati* with pres. part. Cf. e.g. RV. X 18.12a *ucchvāñcamānā pṛthivī sū tiṣṭhatu* 'Let the earth continue to remain gaping'. Latter construction at Vd. 5.19 *hištanti yžarə.yžarəntiš* 'they continue to flow'. Related also: 43.15d *nōiṭ nā pourūš drəgvatō hyāṭ cixšnušō* 'A man should not continue to try to satisfy the many deceitful'. Possibly 50.9c *išayqs ... hīyām*.

In general, the pres. part. by itself is consistently employed to express continuing action in the Gāthās. Cf. 28.5a *kaṭ θwā darəsānī manascā*

*volū vaēdamnō* 'Shall I see thee as I continue to acquire good thinking ..?'; 32.4bc *vaxšantē ... vajhāuš sīždyamnā manajhō ... nasyantō ašāatcā* '... shall increase as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from truth'; 33.3b *vidqs vā θvaxšayhā gavōi* 'or continues to serve the cow with zeal'; 44.9e *hadamōi ašā volucā šyqs manajhā* 'as he continues to dwell in his seat in alliance with truth and good thinking'; 49.11bc *drəgvatō akāiš xʾarəθāiš paiti urvanō yantō* 'their souls shall continue to encounter the deceitful with bad food'; 49.12cd *yā ... frīnāi ... avat yāsqs* 'I who shall pray, as I continue to entreat for that ...'.

*hyaṭ mazdqm dvaidi frasābyō* 'that we two might dispose the Wise One to the questions'. The form *dvaidi* cannot be du. med. aor. of *dā*, since full-grade restitution must take place before consonantal endings; \**dāvaidi* thus is the only expected form (cf. Sl. 1971, 573 ff.). The form *dvaidi* is therefore opt. and represents \**dīvaidi*, just as *jvāmahī* 31.2, *jvantō* 31.3 etc., yAv. *cvant-* represent \**jīvāmahī* \**jīvantō* \**cīvant-*. The correct form is hidden in orig. reading *dvāidī* of J<sub>2</sub>. The opt. is also employed in preterite contexts at 43.10e *hyaṭ θvā xsayqs aēšam dyāt ānavantam* '... since the Ruler could create thee to be powerful and forceful' and 46.8d *tanvām ā yā im hujyātōiš pāyāṭ* '... up to his person which could guard him from the good way of life'. For later use of pret. opt., cf. Tedesco (1923, 298 ff.) and Dresden (1970, 136 ff.).

Other med. opt. aor. forms of *dā* occur as 1sg. *ā dyā* (= \**dīyā*) 43.8, 2sg. *ā dīšā* 43.7, 3sg. \**dyā* (= \**dīyā*) 29.8. Necessary full-grade restitution in med. indic. *dāyhā* 34.1, 44.18, 3sg. (pass.) *dārā* 31.5, 34.2.14; act. opt. *dāyāṭ* 29.7, 43.1 etc.; act. impv. *dāidī* (freq.), med. impv. *dālvā* 50.2. 3sg. \**dātqm* 48.7. Note that the opts. *dyqm* 44.14 and *dyāt* 43.10, 45.9 are best considered as analogic to pres. opt. forms yAv. *daiḍyqm daiḍyāṭ*, evoked by the relationship between parallel indic. *dadāṭ* and *dāṭ* etc., which are similarly built with secondary endings.

*nōiṭ arəžajyōi frajyāitiš nōiṭ fšuyentē drəgvasū pairi* 'Is there not to be a future for the honestly living man? Not for the cattle-breeder among the deceitful?'. Humbach (1959, II 16) correctly combines *frajyāiti-* with *hujyāiti-* 'good way of life' 32.5, 46.8, and translates the word as 'Lebensmöglichkeit'. But it seems to me more of a question concerning the future life of the cow on earth, and I therefore translate the term as 'future'. Same sense in Ved. *āti jīv* 'survive' in ŚBr. 4.2.4.6f. *nā ha samvatsarāṇi yājamānō 'ti jīvet ... tātho ha yājamāno jyōg jīvati* 'The worshiper would not survive the year. Likewise the worshiper lives for a long time'.

The fig. *arəžəjvōi ... dragvasū pairi* is varied at 50.2c *arəžəjīs ... pišvasū*. Cf. latter passage for disc.

29.6. \**atā* (Miss. *aī ā*) *vaocaī ahurō mazdā vidvā vafūs vyānayā* 'Thereupon the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of his attentiveness'. *aī ā* is clearly for \**atā*, the equiv. of Ved. *ātas* 'thereupon'. Word falsely divided under influence of freq. line-initial *aī*; cf. particularly *aī vā* in preceding vs. Similarly, *yavaī ā* 43.8e reposes on orig. \**yavatā*. In general, cf. introd. p. 10.

48.9c *arəš mōi ūcəm vayhāuš vafūs manayhō* 'Let the solemn words stemming from good thinking be told to me truly' shows clearly that *vafūs* is obj. of *vaocaī*, not of *vidvā*, here in 29.6a. Cf. also 31.6ab *yā māi vidvā vaocaī haiθīm maθrəm* 'the knowing one who shall tell to me the true precept' and 45.3b *yəm (sastīm) mōi vidvā mazdā vaocaī ahurō* 'which (doctrine) AhM., the Knowing One, told me'.

*vyānayā* is instr. of a stem *vyānā-* 'attentiveness' (cf. *sāsnayā* in vs. 7b in identical metrical position), which belongs to the root *vyā* 'turn one's attention to, pursue', an enlargement of *vī* 'id.'. Both are related to Ved. *vī* 'id.', on which cf. W.P. Schmid (1968, 613 ff.). The appearance of *vyānā-* in 44.7c next to *uzamā-* 'respectful' is very fitting: *kā uzamām cōraī vyānayā puθrəm piθrē* 'Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father?'. In our verse *vyānayā* provides the motivation for AhM.'s reassurance to the cow. Cf. also *vyā-* 'attention' 48.7 and \**vyēintī* 44.13.

*nōi aēvā ahū vīstō* 'a master has not been found by a single one (of us)'. The parallelism of this phrase with vs. 8a *aēm mōi idā vīstā* and with vs. 7c *kastē volū manayhā* permits the equation of *ahū*, *aēm* and *kas*, of instr. *aēvā*, *māi* and *tē*, and clearly necessitates the addition of *vīstō* in vs. 7c. Thus *ahū* is undoubtedly nom. sg. here, as also in Y. 27.13. Best suggestion concerning its peculiar inflection stems from J. Schmidt (1889, 78 f.), who proposed that the form has come from a dual *ahū ratuścā* of the Ved. type *mitrā ... vārujo yās ca sukrātuḥ* (RV. VIII 25.2ab). But this seems unlikely because this Ved. type, very rare in itself, is surely secondary to the nom.-voc. type *mitra ... vārujaś ca* (cf. Zwolanek 1970, 45 ff.).

I agree with the dual origin of *ahū*, but I insist that it must stem from a dvandva in which the second member is ambiguously dual or singular, thus allowing the same indecisiveness concerning *ahū*. Only one such dvandva is possible, viz. \**ahū ahvi* 'lord and lady', where \**ahvi* (later *ayuhī*) is either nom. sg. or du. On this figure, cf. 32.11b

*ayuhīścā aṇhavasā* 'ladies and lords'; on dual, cf. *gāvā azī* 46.19, *uīayūiti taviši* (freq.), both *-ī*-stems. The words *ahu-* and *ahura-*, both 'lord, master', belong best with Hitt. *ḫaššū-* 'king'; cf. Sehlerath (1968b, 146).

The *fšuyant-* 'cattle-breeder' is the man who increases the flock of the faithful; the *vāstar-* or *vāstrya-* 'pastor' is the man who provides the pasturage of his faith to the eow (the good vision) for her continued prosperity.

29.7. *tām āzūtōiš alurō maθram ... gavōi xšvīdamcā* 'The Lord fashioned this promise of butter and milk for the cow'. This must refer to the preceding words of AhM. to the cow, viz. *aī zī θwā fšuyantaēcā vāstryāicā θwōrāštā tatašā* 'However, the shaper did fashion thee for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor'. Namely, the promise that there will be a prosperous future on earth for the good vision. Thus, this statement belongs in the context of 49.5ab *aī hvō mazdā īzācā āzūtōišcā, yā daēnqm volūi sārāštā-manayhā* 'That man is truly milk and butter (for Thee), Wise One, who has allied his conception with good thinking', where *īzācā āzūtōišcā* is also metaphor for prosperity and strength (similarly, H.-P. Schmidt 1968, 175). In the direct application of 29.6-7 here, the milk and butter are to be taken as a symbol for prosperity embodied in the previously mentioned *fšuyant-* and *vāstrya-*. Comparable use of such metaphor also appears at Y. 55.2 *tā.nō hanti gāθā harəθravaitīšcā pāθravaitīšcā ... tā.nō hanti urune "vaēm x'arəθamca vastrəmca* 'These Gāthās offer refuge and protection for us. They are for us both food and clothing', where the expression 'food and clothing' is likewise symbolic. Cf. Addenda.

Note also that the Ved. terms *iṣ-* and *īrj-*, the close equiv. of *āzūtōi-* and *xšvīd-* or *īzā-*, are also used in the RV. as a metaphor for strength and prosperity. Cf. II 19.9cd *brahmaṇyāntaḥ ..., iṣam īrjanī sukṣītīṇi sunmām aśyūḥ* 'May the eloquent poets attain strength and prosperity, peace and happiness', etc.

The word *maθra-* (once *maθrā-* 43.14) is almost always the word of god, usually envisioned as his solemn precepts (cf. particularly 45.3), and in this usage *maθra-* often is associated with *sāsnā-* 'command, instruction' or *sāuḡha-* 'teaching'. Thus, 31.18a *uī.ciš* (orig. *\*uaēciš*) *aī vā drəgvaiō maθraqscā gūštā sāsuāscā* 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and instructions' and 44.14e *nī hīm* (= *drujām*) *mərəqēdyāi θwahyā maθrāiš sānghahyā* 'in order to destroy it in accord with the precepts of Thy teaching'; also 31.6, 44.17.

The passage 43.1 4de *azā saradanā sānghahyā maṭ iāiš višpāi yōi iōi maθrā marānti* 'to drive away, with the help of those who heed Thy precepts, the opponents of Thy teaching' is important, for the fig. *maθrā marānti* corresponds to 31.1a *iā vā mrvātā marāntō* 'heeding your commandments', where the word of god is considered an imperative to those who are faithful, and undoubtedly also implied in the parallel usage of *maθra-*. And in the same sense belongs 45.3bcd *yam (sastim) ... vaocay almrō / yōi im vā nōiṭ iθā maθram varānti / yaθā im māuāicā vaocacā* '... which (doctrine) the Lord told to me: "Those of you who shall not bring to realization (every) precept exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ..."', for the conclusion of the verse tells of the damnation awaiting the heedless. *maθra-* is thus the sacred word or formulation stemming from god.

Yet the word of god can have other senses. In 28.7c, where it is a question of AhM.'s solicitude for the faithful, the meaning of *maθra-* can only be understood in the sense of 'promise': god promises solicitude to his adherents. Thus, 28.7c *dāstū ... yā vā maθrā sravimā rādā* 'Grant Thou that promise through which we may hear of your solicitude (for us)'. Similarly, I see *āzūtōiš maθram* in the identical sense 'the promise of hutter (strength)' and combine its employment with vs. 4a *mazdā sax'ārā mairištō* 'the Wise One is the first to heed His words (= agreements)', where too the words of god are his agreements or promises. Finally, it may be said that since *maθra-* is the word of god, it can also be used as the word for god, and this is the usage of 28.5bc *sraošaem mazdāi anā maθrā ... vāurōinaidī*, where the sacred formulation of men follows in the next verse.

*lvō urušaēihyā spāntō sāstuyā* 'He is virtuous to the needy in accord with His instruction'. Syntax and sense related to 45.6bc *yā hudā yōi hantī spāntā maitiyā* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit to those who exist'. *uruša-* belongs with Ved. *rūkṣā-* 'lean, weak'; cf. Humbach (1958, 51).

*kastē vohū manayhā*. From the preceding discussion of vs. 6b *nōiṭ aēvā alū vistō* and from vs. 8a *aēm mōi idā vistō*, it is clear that we must supply *vistō* to *kastē vohū manayhā* here as well, and that *tē* functions as a parallel instr. This permits the identification of *tē* with the following instr. *vohū manayhā*, and thus places the answer in vs. 8 in the mouth of good thinking, as Bthlm. correctly supposed (cf. also Duchesne 1948, 197; 1973, 101 ff.). Syntax of *tē ... vohū manayhā* thus resembles 46.19ab *mōi ... zaraθuštrāi* and the Ved. type RV. X 10.7a *yamāsyā mā yamyāṇī kāmā āgan* 'Lust for Yama has come upon me, Yamī'.

Wackernagel (1930, 473) cites Rām. 3.43.49 *apramattena te bhāvyaṃ āśramasithena* 'Thou shouldst become a serious recluse', with *te* in function of instr., and it appears to me that Hitop. 22, 14 (Schlegel and Lassen) *kiṃ tvayā pāpakarmaṇā kṛtam* is best translated as: "Why was this done by thee, evil doer?", with *pāpakarmaṇā* almost in the function of voc. as in *voḥū manajhā* here. Note also that the answer in vs. 8b *hvō nā mazdā vaštī ašāicā* 'he wishes to ... for us, Wise One, and for truth' is of considerable importance, because it is meaningful only if *voḥū manō* is the speaker.

*yā i dāyā! āāvā marataēibyo* 'who might give these to the mortals below'. *āāvā* is for normal *avā* (so, HH. 1958, 53), and corresponds to *avarā* in vs. 11. The question in vs. 7c is asked in heaven, and it is proper that the mortals are below (cf. again vs. 3bc *avaēšqm hātqm*). The first 2 lines of vs. 7 are spoken, however, by a narrator, who is Zarathustra, and who identifies, when necessary, each speaker as he appears, including himself in vs. 5. The final line of vs. 7 is AhM.'s question, however, and it appears without a verb of speaking, but such usage also occurs at 32.1c.

29.8. *aēm mōi idā vistō ... zaraθustrō spitāmō* 'This one, Zarathustra Sp., has been found by me here'. These two phrases belong together syntactically; cf. above 29.3 *avaēšqm nōi* etc. Similar syntax also in 46.19ab *yā mōi ašā! huiθim hacā varāšaiti | zaraθustrāi ...* 'Who shall really in accord with truth bring to realization for me, Zarathustra ...'.

*hvō ... vaštī ... hyaṭ hōi hudamām dyāi vaxōdrahyā*. The reading *hōi ... dyāi* cannot be correct. Med. *dā* in association with a pers. or reflex. pron. consistently means 'to receive or assume for oneself, acquire' in the Gāthās. Cf. 34.1ab *yā ... ašamcā taihyō dāyhā xšaθramcā* 'with which ... Thou didst receive truth and the rule for Thyself', 44.18e *yaθā hi taihyō dāyhā* 'just as Thou didst receive these two for Thyself', 46.15c *ašam xšmaihyā dadhyē* 'Ye shall receive the truth for yourselves', 51.19a *hvō taṭ nā ... ahmāi da-dē* 'Such a man receives this for himself', etc. Thus, in our verse it is clear that we must translate 'He wishes ... if he might receive for himself (acquire) sweetness of speech'. Consequently, we must read *hōi ... \*dyā*, as I formerly proposed (SI. 1962, 67 f.), but I now see that the form *dyā* can only be 3sg. med. aor. opt., i.e. *\*diyā*. This *\*diyā*, with ending *\*-a*, is extremely archaic and is directly comparable to the archaic Ved. opt. *dulhiyā-t*; cf. SI. (1972b, 562 ff.). In the med. aor. opt., we have 1sg. *ā dyā* 43.8, 2sg. *ā dišā* 43.7, and 3sg. *\*dyā* here. The reading *dyāi* simply results from

the influence of the common inf. in *-dyāi* throughout the text: cf. introd. p. 13 f.

29.9. *yā anaēšam xšnumānē rādām*. The accepted reading *xšnumānē* does not seem correct for two reasons. (1) The use of an inf. is difficult next to the finite forms *vasami* and *dadaŋ* in the parallel rel. clauses. (2) The Mss. vars. *xšnu māne* H<sub>1</sub>, *xšnumā nā* S<sub>1</sub>, *xšnum māne* J<sub>6</sub>, etc. point to an orig. reading beginning with *xšn-*. Thus I reconstruct *\*xšnum \*mānā*, where *xšnum* = 1sg. aor. of *xšnā* 'know, recognize' and *\*mānā* (orig. *\*mauā*) = gen. 'of me'. Cf. *paiti.zānatā* in 29.11 below and *\*manā* 46.19, *\*mā.uā* 50.1. The sequence thus attained, viz. *yā \*xšnum ... yān vasami ... yā dadaŋ* is therefore identical to the sequence of verbs in 30.5 *varatā yā dragvā ... yā vastē ... yaēcā xšmaošam*.

*vācim nərəš asīrahyā* 'the voice of a man without might'. Idea corresponds to 44.17c *hyaycā nōi hyāŋ rāxs aēšō* 'so that my voice be powerful (enough) ...', where Zarathustra speaks. Above it was noted that 29.3b *yā šavaītē ādrūg arəšvāghō* corresponds to 44.17bc *kaθā ... zarəm carāni hecā xšmaŋ āskaitūm xšmākam*.

*yavā* is 'during my lifetime': identical usage appears in 49.1a *mā yavā*. Cf. 30.7 *ayaghā ādānāiš*.

29.10. *aogō dātā ašā xšaθrāucā / avaŋ volū manayhā* 'Grant strength and the rule in alliance with truth and good thinking'. *aogō* and *xšaθram* are the objs. of *dātā*, and *ašā avaŋ volū manayhā* modifies *xšaθram* according to the fig. *xšaθram volū manayhā ašācā*. On latter, cf. 30.7 for full disc.

For *avaŋ* itself, note the interesting observation that its use in the consecutive verses 31.14-16, containing the sequence *pərəsā* (14), *pərəsā avaŋ ...* (15), *pərəsā avaŋ ...* (16), resembles the employment of *utā* in the Ved. type RV. VIII 60.9 *pāhi ... pāhi utā ... pāhi*, etc. Consequently, we can also combine the use of *avaŋ* in *ašā ... avaŋ volū manayhā* with the use of *utā* in the Ved. type III 32.13cd *yā stómebhīr vāvyēbhīr, yō madhyamēbhīr utā nūtanebhīh*, etc. Thus *avaŋ* functions freq. as 'likewise, moreover'.

*yā hušaitiš rāmuncā dāŋ* 'through which one shall create peace and tranquility'. Parallels are given at 50.2 *yā him ahmāi* etc. The fig. *hušaitiš rāmuncā* is opposed to 31.18c *dušitācā marakaēcā* 'in strife and destruction' (also with *dāŋ*).

*rāmuncā* is for orig. *\*rānuncā*. Similarly, *šyaomum* 32.3, *varadāmum*



46.16, *anašmąm* 46.17, *dāmąm* 48.7, *cašmąm* 50.10 are all from orig. *-mąm*. They all have arisen through assimilation in the oral recitation of the text.

29.11. *kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā* 'Where are truth and good thinking, and (where) their rule?'. *xšaθrəm* must refer back to *ašəm* and *vohū manō* in consequence of the preceding fig. *ašā xšaθrəm avaṭ vohū manayhā*. The identical disjunctiveness also appears at 33.11b *ašəmcā frādaṭ.gaēθəm manascā vohū xšaθrəmcā* and 50.4abc *aṭ vā yazāi ... | hadā ašā vahīštācā manayhā | xšaθrəcā yā īšō stāyhaṭ ā paiθi* 'I shall always worship you with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which one shall stand on the path of (good) power'.

*aṭ mā mašā*. I follow Lommel (1935b, 99; 1971, 31), who suggested the emendation *\*mąm ašā*, since *mašā* 'men' is fully out of place here. Yet, I interpret *ašā* for *\*artā*, i.e. 2pl. impv. aor. of *ar* 'arise'. Thus the translation 'Yes, come to me!' belongs with 33.12a *us mōi ārašvā alurā* 'Rise up to me, Lord!' and 50.5a *\*arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zī xšnā mazdā ašā alurā* 'Let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth, Lord!'. Note also 53.8d *īratū īš dvaṣšō* 'Let affliction come to them!'. Cf. Addenda.

*yūzəm mazdā frāxšnəuō mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā* 'Wise One, acknowledge ye those fit for the great task!'. The var. *frāxšnəuō* (J<sub>2</sub>, Mf, etc.) is far preferable since *paitī.zānatā* requires an acc. obj. and because a plural form is certainly expected in view of the following *uā* and *\*ālmā.rātōiš*. The form is thus acc. pl. of the stem *frāxšnau-* (later *fraxšnū-*), whose meaning 'discerning' has developed the sense 'fit, proper' (through one's discernment). In this way the fig. *frāxšnau-mazōi magāi.ā* 'fit for the great task' is merely a variant of 51.11c *magāi arəšvō* 'lofty (enough) for the task', where again the implication is 'serious, fit enough for'. Both correspond to the diction of 28.10ab *ašāaṭcā vayhəuścā dāθəng manayhō arəθwəng* 'just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking'. In 43.14b *maiḃyō mazdā tavā rafəuō frāxšnəuəm* '(Grant) to me Thy proper support, Wise One', one also encounters the same proposed sense for the them. form *frāxšnəu-*. Cf. also the yAv. fig. *fraxšnū avi manō* 'if his attitude is fitting, proper' (= nom. absolute).

For *maga-*. I believe with Bthlm. (1904, 1110) that this word is hardly the same as Ved. *maghā-* 'liberality', whose gender is also different. However, I see the word to mean 'task' from the definitive context of 53.7. There the text clearly states 'There shall be a prize

(*mīzdam*) for you for the following *maga*\*, which is then described as the continued, most faithful fervor of the truthful during their lifetimes. The text then concludes, 'If ye abandon this *maga*, then the word woe shall be for you at the end'. In no way can the value 'liberal gift' or even 'Bund' satisfy the intention of this passage; only some term like 'task, enterprise'. For I see the fig. *magām zā* to be the equiv. of Skt. *udyogam tyaj* appearing in Pañcat. II 147 *nā ... tyajed udyogam ātmanah* 'one should not abandon his task'. Similarly, the meaning 'task' fits well in the remaining passages: 46.14ab *kastē ašavā urvaθō mazōi magāi* 'Which truthful person is thy ally for the great task?', 51.16ab *īqm kevā vištāspō magahyā xšaθrā naxat ... yqm cistīm ašā mantā* 'Through his rulership Kavi V. reached this understanding of (our) task, which he respected in harmony with truth'.

Consequently, I take *magavan-* to mean 'one sharing the task: adherent, follower'. Thus, 51.15a *hyaī mīzdam zaraθuštrō magavahyō cōišť parā* 'which prize Zarathustra previously promised to the adherents' and 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... yā sruyē parā magaonō* 'Come ye hither to me ... by reason of which I am to become famed ahead of (every) adherent' (q.v.).

For *ālmā rātōiš* a compound *\*ālmā.rātōiš* is better in view of *ālmā.rafanah-* YH. 40.3. Similarly, *\*haθrā.nanā* 30.9 (cf. *haθra.taršti-*), *\*maēθā.mayā* 33.9, *\*xšmā.nxδāiš* 43.11, *\*θwā.īštīs* 44.10 (so Bthlm.), *\*hadā.vāstā* 46.17 should all be restored. All have been falsely divided in the Mss. owing to the existence of uncompounded *ālmā*, *haθrā*, *maēθā*, *xšmā*, *θwā* and *hadā* elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. For the principle, cf. introd. p. 10f.

### Yasna 30

This Gāthā is a hymn of instruction in the fundamental teachings of the prophet, and its theme is primarily concerned with explaining the nature and the consequences of the choice between good and evil, truth and deceit (2-3, 5-6, 11), which are manifestations of the virtuous and good spirit and of the deceitful and evil spirit (3-5). The old gods wrongly chose the ways of deceit and thereby afflicted this world and mankind (6). But Ahura Mazdā came to the world with his rule founded upon good thinking and truth, in order to reestablish the proper equity for each man's individual choice as well as to guarantee a means of protection from the destructive powers of deceit and its followers (7-8). To adhere to the ways of deceit shall bring a man at the end to the very worst existence and extensive ruin, but the paradise founded upon and sustained by good thinking, along with the means of salvation in this world, awaits the pious man who follows the ways of truth (4, 11). Therefore a man should be pious to the true lord (7) and wish to unite in the only common true cause (8-9) which shall heal this fallen and debased earthly existence (9), as it brings ruin upon the forces of deceit (10). Verses 1-7 are spoken to Zarathustra's followers: verses 8-10 to the Wise Lord and his immortal forces, triggered by the view of the earthly and heavenly salvation described in verse 7.

The presentation of these ideas in this Gāthā follows Zarathustra's typically imaginative and eloquent style of composition. In verse 1 the prophet promises to speak of those things which shall bring joy to mankind if they are heeded through the fitting worship of the master of truth and of good thinking, the Wise Lord. Thereby he implies the Wise One indeed created this means of happiness for mankind and thus deserves the reverence and praise for manifesting his godly powers in a fashion which can save the world. Similarly, the careful designation of god as the very wise master of truth and good thinking has its own specific end: To signal that these moral qualities of truth and good thinking belong only to the Wise Lord and that through their effect upon him the Wise One was moved to offer an alternative to this woeful existence. These notions, only hinted at here, are directly expressed later in verse 7.

Verse 2, introducing the dominant motif of the choice between

good and evil, intimates at the complementary theme to the first verse by its mention of the great retribution. For the prophet thus evokes the incisive idea that the Wise Lord not only controls the means to save but he also possesses the power which can damn when he sees fit. In this indirect fashion Zarathustra thus places the concept of salvation and damnation in parallel with the motif of good and evil, and leaves no doubt at the beginning, as he emphasizes at the end of this hymn, that these two issues are intimately connected.

In that there exist two possible decisions for each man to weigh, verses 3-5 now explain how these came to pass. Existence is permeated by two motivating spirits which stand in total opposition to one another. Through their conflicting interests they have taken their stand at the opposite poles of good and evil in thought, word and action, and they have created the antithetical conditions of life and death and of salvation and damnation to symbolize the exclusive nature of their beings. Cutting across all modes of existence with their opposing values, these pervasive spirits have forced mankind, by imposing these contrary categories upon all dimensions of life, to equally make a decisive choice with regard to its alliance with the essence of good or with the essence of evil, which, so to say, exist in the nature of things. The maleficent and the deceitful have chosen to follow the ways of evil, but the beneficent and truthful have selected the ways of virtue and truth. Foremost among these latter are those who shall serve the Wise Lord continuously in the recognition that he is the prototype of the totally beneficent and truthful being and also the creator and master of the exalted principles of truth and good thinking.

By the nature of his being which is in harmony with truth and good thinking and by his prime motivation through the effects of the spirit of good and virtue, the Wise Lord therefore stands in opposition to the old, traditional gods. For as these were deciding their own position concerning the choice between good and evil, the evil spirit deluded them into following ways of deceit, and in consequence of this, they have caused the debasement of this world and of mankind in general. Verse 6 thus concludes in this fashion the evolution of evil from a creative or anticreative principle, through its existence amid the divine world, to its manifestation as a powerful and ruinous force in the life of man.

Verse 7 now focuses on the highlight of the prophet's teachings. Recognizing the unfair and sorrowful state of this earthly existence, the Wise Lord has come into the world, offering protection and

salvation to mankind through the acceptance of his rule of truth and good thinking. Thus man truly possesses now an alternative to the evil ways of deceit in this world and the balance between good and evil has been set in equilibrium once again. Moreover, this rule of the Wise Lord is more than the reciprocal choice of evil: It signifies a means of salvation in this current earthly life and in the next one for those who are devoted to the Wise One who has created this.

Having spoken of the Wise One's great gift for the world, Zarathustra now turns to his lord, to directly move his master. Verse 9 affirms that the faithful shall indeed rally to the cause of the rule of good thinking and of truth when the time for the deliverance from deceit is at hand. Therefore, verse 9 concludes, the Wise One and his forces should bring assistance to his prophet, so that he may ever increase the number of followers convinced by the principle of the good, which alone shall heal the world of the afflictions of deceit. Verse 10 then promises that these adherents, driven by the force of good thinking, shall ensure victory and fame for the Wise One and truth in this world, as they certainly do merit. This is the awaited oath of man for his god if the almighty likewise intercedes for the cause of the good in this world.

In the final verse Zarathustra returns to address his followers, and the prophet admonishes them, in their new found understanding, to heed the commandments of his true god, for there exists no other possibility to save themselves and this earthly existence from inherent destruction.

30.1. *aṭ tā vaxšyā išāntō* 'Yes, I shall speak to those seeking about the things ...'. The pres. stem *isāiti* uniformly means 'seeks' and is the equiv. of yAv. *isāiti* = Ved. *ichāti*. It has arisen in Zarathustra's dialect by the substitution of the freq. root-final -š of *iš* also into the old pres. *isāiti* (cf. SI. 1970, 190). Here, too, belong the hypermetrical forms *išasā* 31.4, *išasōiṭ* 50.2, *išasqs* 51.19 (for orig. \**išā* \**išōiṭ* \**išqs*), which show the attempt to correct the Gāthic pres. *isāiti* alter the yAv. pres. *isāiti*. This process has in turn led to the redaction of orig. \**hišaṭ* 32.13 into the false and hypermetric form *hišasaṭ*.

Parallel Gāthic and Vedic uses of *iš* 'seek' exist in the following exx. 50.2a *kaθā mazdā rūnyō.skərāitīm gəm* \**išōiṭ* and RV. I 164.27b *vatsām ichānti* ... *abhy āgāt* 'She has come hither, seeking her calf'. 31.4bc *vahištā* \**išā manayhā maibyō xšaθrəm aojōnghvaṭ* 'With the very best thinking I shall seek powerful rule for myself' and RV. III 57.3a

... *vīṣṇa ichānti śaktīm* 'they (who) seek power for the bull'. 51.19b *yā ahūm \*išqs aēbi* 'who seeks existence' and RV. VI 47.10a ... *māhyaṇi jivātum icha* 'seek life for me'. In 30.1a here, *išantō* has the implication *viduyē* 'to know' because of the following *vīdušē*. Cf. KāušSū. 94.2 *vidvāṇsaṇ brahmāṇam iche* 'one should seek a B. who knows' (cf. SI. 1970, 188).

*staotācā ahurāi yesnyācā vañhōuš managhō humqzdrāi ašā yecā*. Despite my earlier attempts to defend the traditional text (op. cit. 199), I now follow K. Hoffmann's suggestion that we must restore *\*ašāyecā* = older *\*ašāyācā* (dat.), since *ahurāi ... \*ašāyācā* reflects the same combination as *mazdā ašāyācā* seen in vs. 10c below. Similarly, 51.2a *iā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā ašā yecā* should be restored to *\*... ašāyācā* insofar as the construction is of the same type as 32.6c ... *vā mazdā ... ašāicā* (cf. 28.3 for disc.). I see the motivation for the separation of orig. ... *vañhōuš managhō humqzdrāi \*ašāyācā* into *\*ašā yācā* stemming from 33.14bc *managhascā vañhōuš mazdāi šraoθanahyā ašā yācā*, owing to the similarity of expressions in both passages; following *yā of yā raocāhīs* ... also exerted some effect. The subsequent separation in 51.2a is based upon the normalizing tendencies of the redactors. For disc. of these processes, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. The change of *\*yācā* to *yecā* is parallel to the change of *\*ayāni* to younger *ayeni* 34.6, 46.1, 50.9.

*vañhōuš managhō* appears to be dependent upon *ahurāi*, i.e., 'lord, master of good thinking', acc. to 31.8b *vañhōuš ptarēm managhō*, 45.4c *ptarēm vañhōuš varəzayantō managhō*, etc.

Furthermore, it is also apparent that the var. *humqzdrāi* (L<sub>1</sub>) is superior to *humqzdrā* for the collocation *ahurāi ... humqzdrāi* is nothing other than a stylistic variant of *ahurāi mazdāi*. The prevalent var. *humqzdrā* simply shows assimilation to surrounding *-ā* forms *staotācā*, *yesnyācā*, sec. *ašā yecā* and *urvāzā*, with preservation of the predominant vocalism in the verse; cf. introd. p. 5 ff.

The remaining *staotācā ... yesnyācā* are instr., dependent upon *mazdāθā* acc. to the usage seen in 31.5b *viduyē volū managhā mñecā daidyāi* 'to be known and borne in mind through good thinking'. Thus we have *staotācā ahurāi yesnyācā vañhōuš managhō humqzdrāi \*ašāyācā* 'through praise and worshipful act for the very Wise Master of good thinking and for truth'. On the use of the dat., cf. 33.14b *paourvatātəm managhascā vañhōuš mazdāi* 'and predominance of good thinking for the Wise One'.

*yā raocāhīs darəsatā urvāzā* 'which (things) are to be looked upon in

joy throughout your days'. *yā* refers back to *tā* in *tā vaxšyā*. On *raocēbīš*, cf. 30.7 *ayaṇhā ādānāiš* below. The form *darəsatā* is best taken with Kuiper (1964a, 105, fn 40) as the equiv. of Ved. *darśatā-*. Finally, *urvāzā* is loc. of a stem *urvāzi-* 'joy', whose instr. *urvāzyā* appears in YH. 36.2 (cf. SI., op. cit. 187 ff.).

30.2. *avaēnatā sūcā manayhā* 'reflect with a clear mind' corresponds to the idea found in 31.13c *cašmāng θwisrā hārō* 'looking with clarity of vision'. Adj. *sūca-* = Ved. *sucā-* (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1581; thus against Humbach, 1959, II 20).

*āvarəna-* is 'choice' and is different from *varəna-* 31.11, 45.1,2, 48.4, 49.3, which is consistently 'preference'.

*parā mazō yāyhō* 'before the great retribution'. The difficult word *yāh-* (always *yaah-*) has been variously interpreted. Bthlm. 'Krise, Wendepunkt' (so, Lommel 1930; 'Wende' 1971), Duchesne 'épreuve', Humbach 'Bittgang', etc. Recently H.-P. Schmidt has argued (1968, 178) for the meaning 'Gang, entscheidender Gang' > 'Entscheidung', and his proposal has been newly endorsed by Kuiper (1973, 186). Schmidt's argument is based on the fact that Zarathustra employs the terms *urvaēsa-* 'turning point' (of a race-course) and *zā* 'race ahead' in speaking of the moment of decision, and he therefore concludes that *yāh-* must be another horse-racing term used metaphorically or allegorically by Zarathustra.

But I do not follow his conclusions. The root *yā* clearly means 'to travel or race' in Vedic (never 'go'): cf. RV. II 1.6c *tvām vātaih ... yāsi* 'thou dost race with the winds', VI 62.2d *apō dhānvāny āti yātho ājrān* 'Ye race beyond the waters, deserts and fields', etc. Thus if *yāh-* belongs to the root *yā*, then we should expect the word to mean 'race, contest' (like *āji-*), and in view of Y. 44.15, where the question of a decisive contest between truth and deceit is envisioned, the meaning 'contest' would be fully defensible.

However, I do not believe this. Horse-racing is not the only source of Zarathustra's vocabulary. We surely have many terms from agriculture and its allied enterprises in the usc of *gao-*, *vāstar-*, *vāstra-*, *fšuyant-*, *fšānghiya-*, etc. And the legalistic sector provides many important terms: *vīcira-* 'juridically decisive', *vīciθa-* 'j. decision', *irixta-* 'consequence', *raēxənah-* 'legal inheritor', *sānghuš-* 'decree', *aoj* 'to accuse', *sru* 'to try', *sanh* 'to decree', etc. And specifically, with regard to the question of the final judgment, most of the terms applicable here do belong to the legal sector: *ratu-* 'judgment' is certainly a

legal term, as is *xšnūt-* 'satisfaction' (cf. 31.3). Similarly, both *ādā-* and *ādāna-* 'requital, repayment' must be words of legal origins, since Skt. *ā dā* is employed in the legal sense of 'to reclaim' (cf. Manu VIII. 222 ff.).

I therefore also view *yāh-* as a word of equally legalistic origins and combine it with Ved. *yātár-* 'revenger, repayer', *yā-yā-* and *yā-yāvan-* 'repaying, requiting debts', which also belong to the same technical vocabulary. Thus I understand *yāh-* to mean 'retribution', and the word pointedly refers to the time when the truthful and the deceitful shall receive their fair share, a repeated major theme of the Gāthās.

The underlying root *yā* is far better attested than hitherto acknowledged, since the Ved. concept of *āva yā* 'to make payment, requite, redress' must belong here. E.g. RV. IV 1.4ab *tvām no agne váruṇasya vidvān, deváasya hēḷō* 'va *yāsisisṣhāh* 'Agni, thou the knowing one shouldst redress Varuṇa's anger for us'. VI 66.5d *mū cū sudāmur āva yāsad ugrām* 'Now indeed shall the blessed one redress the strong ones (= the gods)'. Also *avayātúr-* 'redresser, requiter' in I 129.11b *avayātā sádam iḍ durmatinām* '(Indra) is always the requiter of evil minded ones' and VIII 48.2b *avayātā háraso dáivasya* 'the redresser of divine wrath'. This concept can in no way belong to *yā* 'entreat', as is possible with German 'abhitten', for it is exactly the process of incessant entreaty which angers the gods. Cf. 28.9a *nōiṣ vā ... yānāiš zarauiāēmā* 'May we not anger you with these entreaties'. We therefore must accept an Indoir. root *yā* 'repay, revenge' for all of these terms, and most likely add to these the Gk. word *zēmiā* 'penalty, amends'.

*ahmāi (nā) sazdyāi buodantō patīi* 'being aware to declare (announce) yourselves to Him'. *nā* is a later addition to the line, transported into the passage from 51.16c *aθā nā sazdyāi*; cf. introd. p. 13. Note that *ahmāi* belongs only to the demon, pron., as Humbach stresses.

The infs. *sazdyāi* and *sastē* both belong to *sanh* 'declare' and are consistently employed medio-passively in the sense 'declare oneself, to announce oneself, with the dat. of the person addressed. Cf. 30.8bc below *xšaθram ... vōi.vīdaitē aēihyō sastē* 'the rule shall take place in order to announce itself to those ...'; 46.12de *aṣ īs vohū hām.aibi.mōiš manayhā aēihyō sastē* 'Then did He unite them with good thinking in order to announce Himself'; 51.16c *aθā nā sazdyāi uštā* 'Therefore wish ye for Him to declare Himself to us'. The point is that both god and his adherents must announce their faith in each other before the final judgment. On similar constructions, cf. 43.6de *aēihyō ratūš sānghaitī ārmaitiš θwahyā xratūš* 'To them does piety declare the



judgments of Thy will'. Medio-pass. in 32.7b *yā jōyā* (\**jīvyā*) *sānghaitē* 'which are decreed to be capital' (technical use). The root *sañh* is treated in detail at 31.1].

30.3. *yā yāmā xʷafənā \*ā \*srvātəm* (Mss. *asrvātəm*) 'which twins are renowned to be in conflict'. It is not possible in my view to ascribe *xʷafənā* here to the word *xʷafna-* 'sleep'; such a meaning has no sense in this passage. Rather, acc. to the apt Ved. parallel cited by Humbach (RV. VII 104.12b *sác cāsac ca vácasi pasp̥dhlhāte* 'the true and the untrue word are in contention'), we should expect a comparable statement concerning the two spirits. I therefore take *xʷafənā* = loc. to a stem *xʷafni-* 'rivalry', which I relate to Ved. *duṣvāpnyā-* 'ill rivalry'. That the Ved. word also cannot belong to *svāpna-* 'sleep' is shown by RV. VIII 47.14ab *yác ca gōṣu duṣvāpnyam yác cāsmé ...* 'what ill rivalry exists among our cattle or among ourselves ...', where it should be clear that it is a question of fighting among the herd, not of the animals' loss of sleep or nightmares. Moreover, X 36.4ab *grāvā ... āpa rākṣāṁsi sedhatu duṣvāpnyam nirṛtiṁ viśvam atriṇam* also shows by its juxtaposition of *rākṣas-* 'destructive force', *nirṛti-* 'destruction' and *atriṇ-* 'type of hostility' with *duṣvāpnyā-* that the concept represented by the last word is much stronger than 'nightmare' or the like, and is capable of being repelled by the pressing stone. Here one should compare VI 47.29d *dūrād dāviyo āpa sedha śātrūn* 'Repel our rivals farther than far away'. Lastly, note Y. 62.5 (*dāyā*) *nairyam pascaēta huṇ.varatim arədwō.ængam axʷafnyam* 'Thou shouldst grant afterwards heroic valor, straight-legged (= uncowering) and free from rivalry', where *axʷafnyā-* must also be an appropriate quality of *huṇ.varəiti-* 'valor, bravery'. Thus I see the necessity to posit Indoir. \**svapni-* 'rivalry', \**svapnyā-* 'rivalrous, rivalrousness'. Cf. Addenda.

The form *asrvātəm* should be restored as \**ā \*srvātəm* with \**ā* belonging to the preceding loc. *xʷafənā*. This syntactic fig. *xʷafənā \*ā* 'in conflict' follows the pattern of 34.3b *gaēθā vispā ā xšaθrōi*, 34.10c *θwalmi ... xšaθrōi ā*, 48.7d *θwalmi ā dqm* 'in Thy house' = 49.10a, 49.8c *vayhān θwalmi ā xšaθrōi*, 50.4c *išō stāyhaṭ ā paiθi* '(by which) one shall stand on the path of power', etc. The orthography *asrvātəm* thus shows the influence of passages, such as 31.13b *ā mazīstam ayamaitē*, 46.2c *ā iṭ avaēnā*, 49.1c *ā mōi arapā*, where the repeated preverb appears in shortened form before the verbal form with which it belongs. Similar influence in *avaēnatā* for \**āvaēnatā* (impv.) 30.2, *acistā* for \**ācistā* 51.11. Likewise, 31.16b *ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā*

requires the emendation *\*fradaθāi.ā* *\*sparəzaia* and 32.3c *yāiš asrūdūm* is to be emended as *yāiš \*ā \*srūdūm*: cf. passages for disc. and introd. p. 11.

*hudāyghō ... duždāyghō*. Andreas' translations (1909. 7) 'die Guthandelnden' and 'die Schlechthandelnden' seem to be the proper designations for these terms (similarly, Lommel 1971). They are not cognate with Ved. *sudās-* 'of good gifts' (so. Humhach), but belong rather with *sudhā-* 'good basis, welfare' and *durdhā-* 'disorder, misery'. In general, *hudāh-* corresponds quite clearly in usage to the Ved. word *sukṛt-*, which also equally applies to men and gods. One can compare 34.13c *hya! cavištā hudāhyō mīždām* 'which prize has been promised to the beneficent' with RV. 1 128.6f. *viśvasmā it sukṛte vāram ṛvati (agnih)* 'Agni grants what is desirable to each beneficent person'. This Ved. passage containing the combination of *sukṛt-* and the root *ar* 'grant' also recalls 34.3c *\*arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zi hudāyghō ... savō* 'Salvation of the beneficent man is to be granted', where *hudāh-* likewise appears with the root *ar*. Finally, notice that the freq. designation of the Aməša Spəntas as both *huxšaθrā* and *hudāyghō* (e.g. Y. 13.4. 35.1. 58.5 etc.) is quite pointed: not only do they possess the necessary mastery to act as they wish, but they also employ their mastery to bring about what is good for the world. Cf. the characterization of AhM. at 45.6bc *yā hudā yōi hənī spantā mainyū* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit to those who exist', which corresponds to his designation as *vaghudāh-* 'good-creating' at YH. 38.4.

*duždāh-*, by contrast, is 'maleficent' and its meaning is quite apparent at Yt. 10.52, where it is glossed as *ayāvarəz-* 'evil-working': cf. *āa! ya! duždā fradvaraiti yō ayāvarəš ...* 'Then, when the maleficent man who is evil-working rushes forth ...'.

30.4. *hya! ... hām jasaētām ... dazdē gaēmā ajyūitīmā* 'When the two came together, they created life and death'. Here *dazdē* must be 3du. imperf. (or perf.) of *dā*, fully parallel to the preceding *jasaētām* (correct, Bthlm. 1894, 66 §120.1c), and permits the following explanation. If the Av. 3pl. ending *-āire* corresponds to Ved. *-ire* (Sl. 1971, 575), then we can reconstruct for Indoir. both a full-grade *\*-aərai* and a zero-grade *\*-ərai*. Similarly, the 3du. med. ending must have been both *\*-aətai* and *\*-ətai*. Vedic continues this last ending in the full-grade form (*bruvāte dadhāte* etc.) because the *-ā-* is always accented. But in the 3pl. of the middle, where the last (or first) syllable is accented, only the zero-grade form survives (*bhejiré ūhiré, īšire* etc.). Conse-

quently, for Av. both *\*-ātē* and *\*-tē* (with loss of internal *\*ə*) are expected, depending upon the placement of the accent. Former ending is preserved in *mamanāitē* Y. 13.4; latter ending in *dazdē* here. Good support also from the Ved. du. impv. *trāsīthām* (metrically always *\*trāsīthām* in cadence), where we have the zero-grade Ved. alternant *\*-īthām* of usual *-āthām*.

*aihuš acištō drəgvatqm aī ašāunē vahištəm manā* 'the worst existence for the deceitful ones but the best thinking for the truthful man'. The similar juxtaposition appearing in 32.13a *acištahyā dāmānē manayhā* and 32.15c *vayihāuš ā dāmānē manayhō* strongly suggests that *vahištəm manō* is metonymy for *vahištahyā dāmānəm manayhō*. Note, however, that *vahištəm manō* has been carefully chosen in order to contrast with *acištəm manā* in 30.6b below.

30.5. *fraorəī* 'continuously'. Since the root *var* 'choose' is originally a heavy base, the final *-t* of *fraorəī* excludes derivation of this word from that root (cf. *gar-* 'song': Ved. *gṛāti*, etc.). The word therefore is identical with Ved. *pravṛt*, which belongs to *prā vṛt* 'to proceed, continue'. Single occurrence at VS. XV.9 *pravṛd asi pravṛte tvā* allows the translation 'Thou art continuity. For continuity thee!'. However, in our passage *fraorəī* is clearly adverbial. Note that the image contained in *yaēcā xšnaošan ahurəm ... fraorəī* 'and those who shall satisfy the Lord continuously' is a conscious imitation of the preceding description of the *spəntō mainyuš* as *yē xraoēdištāng asānō vastē* 'who is clothed in the hardest stones', for the latter description can only mean 'who is enduring, indestructible'. The intention is that the faithful must also be as enduring in their determination as the virtuous spirit of god himself.

30.6. *hyaī īš ā.dabaomā pərəsmanōng upā.jasaī*. Kuiper (1973, 201 ff.) has convincingly argued to emend *ā.dabaomā* to *\*ā \*dabaomā*, since *\*ā ... upā.jasaī* belongs well with the Ved. type RV. III 42.1a *ipa nahī sntām ā gahi*, etc. However, unlike him and almost all translators, I believe that Geldner's interpretation (1926, 3) of *dabaomā* from an agent noun *dabaoman-* 'deceiver, betrayer' offers the best sense. It is certainly the *angrō mainyuš* who has deceived the gods in 32.5, and in 30.6 here he undoubtedly is the intended *dabaoman-*, particularly in view of the discussion of the two spirits in vss. 3-5. Vedic has enough agent nouns, such as *dharmān-* 'supporter', *vadmān-* 'speaker', *samān-* 'presser', etc., to support this type of formation. Thus translate: 'since the betrayer approached them as they were deliberating'.

*yā bṛaṇayāu aḥūm marətānō* '(fury) with which they have afflicted (defiled) the world and mankind'. Humbach (1957a, 306 f.) has correctly argued that *marətānō* cannot be gen. sg. because of the existence of yAv. gen. *marəθnō*, but he has overlooked the possibility that *marətānō* can also be acc. pl. (cf. Ved. type *ukṣāṃas vṛṣāṃas*). We surely have acc. pl. *asānō* in the preceding verse (= yAv. *asānō*), which is also different from the yAv. gen. sg. *aśnō*. Thus, *aḥūm* and *marətānō* are asyndetic 'the world and mankind', and this interpretation is supported by the variant 46.11b *aḥūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* 'to destroy existence and mankind', where *mašim* is the substitute for *marətānō*. Similarly, *marətānō* in 32.12a is also acc. pl.: cf. *yā rəyḥayən sraṇayhā vahistāi śyaoθəmnāi marətānō* 'Because of that teaching with which they deflected men from the best action ...'.

30.7. *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volū ašacā* 'But to this world He came with the rule in alliance (harmony) with good thinking and truth'. This line stands in antithesis to the preceding line: although the gods have ruined the world (by accepting the ways of deceit), the Lord has come with his rule founded on truth and good thinking to offer salvation to the faithful community of the truthful. *cā* is thus clearly adversative as in flg. 30.11bc *darəgəm dragvā.dəhyō rašō sāvacā ašavahyō* 'long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful', etc.

*ahmāi* resumes *aḥūm* of the preceding vs. and thus refers to this world, a usage identical to Ved. *asyā asmīn*, which often signify this world. Parallel resumption also appears in 32.13b *aḥhəuš ... aḥyā*, which is then followed by *aḥyā* in 32.14a; also in 43.5b *aḥhəuš*, followed by *ahmī* in 43.6b (cited below). Similarly, 44.15b *aḥyā ašā pōi* 'for the protection of the world allied with truth' belongs with 46.3b *aḥhəuš darəθrāi ... ašahyā* 'for the maintenance of the world of truth' (cf. also 44.8d *ašā aḥhəuš*). In the same function, *ahmāi* also appears in 47.3b *yā ahmāi gəm rānyō.skəraētīm hām.tašaṭ* 'who fashioned the joy-bringing cow for this world', which is simply a metaphorical paraphrase of our line, with *gəm* = *volū xšaθram*. The full phrase *aḥyā aḥhəuš* 'of this world' occurs at 32.13b, 34.6b, 43.3c, 45.3a.

Since *cā* in the phrase *xšaθrā ... manayhā volū ašacā* only follows the last term, these words cannot be in equal coordination: cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Rather, both *manayhā volū* and *ašā* modify *xšaθrā* in the sense 'the rule in alliance (harmony) with good thinking and truth', a stylistic usage characteristic of the Gāthās. For disc. and full

exx., cf. 32.2. The other exx. of this important figure are: 29.10ab *aogō dātā ašā xšaθrām cā avaṭ vohū manayhā* (q.v.), 33.10c *vohū uxšyā manayhā xšaθrā ašācā*, 50.3ab *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā cōišt manayhā* 'promised during the rule of truth and good thinking'.

Frequently only *vahū manayhā* appears: 30.8b (next vs.) *xšaθrām vohū manayhā*, 31.4bc *vahištā iśasā manayhā maibyō xšaθrām aojōnghvaṭ*, 43.6ab ... *urvaēsē jasō mazdā xšaθrā ahmī vohū manayhā* 'At this turning point Thou, the Wise One, hast come into this world with Thy rule in alliance with good thinking' (closest variant of current 30.7a), 44.6d *taibyō xšaθrām vahū cinas manayhā*, 46.10c *vohū xšaθrām manayhā*, 51.2bc *xšaθrām xsmākām vohū manayhā ... dāidi*, 51.21b *ašām spānvaṭ vohū xšaθrām manayhā* 'Virtuous is truth and the rule allied with good thinking'.

Variants also occur in 34.11bc *vayhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ* 'through the rule of good thinking allied with truth' = 51.18b *ašā vərəntē taṭ xšaθrām manayhō vayhāuš* 'He chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth' and in 46.16d *yaθrā vayhāuš manayhō ištā xšaθrām* 'where the rule is in the power of good thinking'. Also related: 33.5b *\*daragō.jyāiti ā xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō, ašāṭ ā arəzūš paθō* 'the long-lived rule of good thinking and the paths straight in accord with truth' and 51.16ab *xšaθrā ... vayhāuš padabīs manayhō* 'by his rule following the paths of good thinking'. Cf. also 50.4abc *aṭ vā yazaī ... hadā ašā vahištācā manayhā, xšaθrācā yā ...* For ease of translation, I have adopted the expression 'rule of truth and good thinking' throughout the Gāthās.

*aṭ kəhrpām utayūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš qumā* 'and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath to it'. *utayūitiš* is, as always, only an adj., agreeing here with *ārmaitiš*; it is only natural that the piety of the faithful be enduring. Support for adj. interpretation stems from the equivalence of 33.5b *\*daragō.jyāiti ... xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō* 'the long-lived rule of good thinking' and 48.6ab *utayūitīm ... tavišim vayhāuš manayhō* 'the enduring power of good thinking'. Thus I interpret the dual *utayūiti taviši* at 34.11c, 45.10e, 51.7c as 'the two enduring powers, forces', and in these last two passages they stand in apposition to the dual *amərətātā haurvātā* 'immortality and completeness', which they always represent.

*kəhrpām* 'body' and *qumā* 'breath' are thus the asyndetic objs. of *dadāṭ*. Similar syntax occurs for the equiv. terms *astvant-* and *uštāna-*: cf. 31.11b *hyaṭ astvantəm dadā uštānəm* 'since Thou didst create body and breath'; 34.14a *vairīm astvaitē uštānāi* 'desirable for body and

breath'. Coordination with *cā* in YH. 37.3 *tām alimākāiš azdihīscā uštānāišcā yazam aidē* 'We worship Him with our body and breath', which is clearly related to 33.14ab *aī rātqm zaraθuštrō tanvascī x'alīyā uštānām ... mazdāi* 'Therefore Zarathustra does give us a gift to the Wise One even the breath of his own body'. *qman-* is thus the equiv. of Ved. *ātman-* (HH. 1959, II 60 compares *animus*), which also is used asyndetically with *tanū-* 'body': cf. AV. I 18.3a *yāt ta ātmāni tanvāni ghorān āsti* 'whatever awful thing is in thy breath and body'.

This line 30.7b expresses again the important theme that only the piety of the faithful grant strength to the Lord and His authority. Cf. 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varādaiti ārmaitiš* for disc.

*aēšqm tōi ā aṇhaī yaθā ayaṇhā ādānāiš paomnyō*. Since it follows that AhM. must be the subject of *aṇhaī*, the reading *tōi* cannot be correct. I therefore propose to read \**pōi*, as in 44.15b *aḥyā ašā pōi* 'for the protection of the world allied with truth (see above)', which also appears with a dependent gen. Also note gen. in 46.3b *aṇhāiš darəθrāi ... aḥyā* also cited above. The change of *pōi* to *tōi* has taken place under the influence of 34.1c *aēšqm tōi ahurā*, appearing in identical metrical position. For principle, cf. introd. p. 11 ff.

*ayaṇhā ādānāiš* 'during the (time of the) requitals with the iron'. Kuiper (1964b, 85 ff.) has plausibly suggested that *ayaṇhā* is a later gloss added to this passage, since *ayaṇhā* otherwise appears in the Gāthās accompanied by a qualifying adj., viz. 32.7b *x'aēnā ayaṇhā* and 51.9b *ayaṇhā xšustā*. This may well be the case.

In terms of syntax, *ādānāiš* is an instr. of temporal extent. Similar usage in 29.9c *yavā* 'during my lifetime' = 49.1a *mā yavā*; 30.1c, 31.7a *raocāhīš* 'throughout the days'; 31.22b *xšaθrā* 'during his rule' = 46.11a *xšaθrāiš* 'during their rule, regimes'; 44.3b *zəθā* 'during the birth, creation'; 48.1d, 51.15c *savāiš* 'during the times of salvation'; 48.1a *adāiš* (for orig. \**ād āiš*) 'during the times after this'. Instr. of spatial extent is found in 34.14c *varəzənā* 'throughout the community'; 48.11b *xšaθrā* 'throughout the dominion'; 50.5a *xsmā* 'across the earth' (= γAv. *zəmā*, Ved. *jṃā*). Vedic has identical usage in *āhabhis dyābhis* 'throughout the days', *kṣapā naktābhis* 'during the night', and also with non-time nouns such as *tyājasā* 'during the time of danger', *janīṣā jānmanā* 'during his birth'. Cf. RV. I 166.12c *indraś canā tyājasā vi hrīṇāti \*tām* (text *tāt*) 'Indra never avoids that person during a time of danger'; I 156.3ab ... *yāthā vidā itāsya gārghnī janīṣā pipartana* 'As is well known, tend the child of truth during his birth'; III 26.7a *agnir asmi jānmanā jātāvedāḥ* 'I am Agni I. during the time of my birth';

etc. Instr. of spatial extent in *pr̥thivyā* 'across the earth', *rājosā* 'across the reaches', *kr̥ṣtibhiḥ* 'throughout the countries'. Latter in I 100.10ab *só grāmebhiḥ sánitā ... vidē viśvābhiḥ kr̥ṣtibhir uv ādyā* 'He is known today as a victor throughout the villages and all the countries'.

Thus the final line is: 'He shall be present for the protection of these (faithful), just as He shall be the first (to do so) during the times of requital (by the molten iron)'. Theme thus corresponds to common notion that the Lord will support the truthful in this world as well as at the time of the final judgment, when they shall be saved.

30.8. *aēšqm kaēnā ... aēnahqm* 'the penalty for these sinners'. Since *aēšqm* in the preceding vs. must refer to the truthful, *aēnahqm* must be ascribed to the possessive stem *aēnah-* 'sinner' here. Thus *aēšqm aēnahqm* resumes *marātānō* in vs. 6c, i.e. the men whom the gods have inflicted with fury and deceit in their turn, viz. the deceitful. Cf. 32.11 *raēxānah-*.

*aṭ mazdā taibyō xšaθrām volū manajhā vōi.vīdaitē* 'then for Thee, Wise One, shall the rule of good thinking take place (be at hand)'. Elsewhere in the Gāthās where a sequence of *yadā ... aṭ* occurs, the verb in the second clause is always 'to be'. Cf. 50.9cd *yadā ... xšayā, aṭ ... hīyām* 'If I had control, then I would be': with ellipsis 31.4a *yadā ... \*zəviyā, (aṭ) aṭhan mazdāscā alurāghō* 'When I might call ..., then the Wise One and the other lords shall appear'. Thus, in 30.8b here the var. *vōi.vīdaitē* Jp<sub>1</sub> (cf. also *vōivīdaitē* J<sub>2</sub>) is preferable, since it belongs together with the Ved. med. intensive of *vid* 'find', which means 'be present, be at hand'. Cf. RV. III 54.4cd *nāraś cid vān samithē śūrasātau, vavandirē pr̥thivi vēvidānāḥ* 'The men who were present in the conflict, in the battle of heroes, were praised by you two, o earth'. Same meaning in med. aor. in VI 21.12ab *sā no bodhi puraetā sugēṣu, utā durgēṣu pathikēd vidānāḥ* 'Be our leader in comfort and the pathfinder in difficulties, once thou art present'. The form *vōi.vīdaitē* is thus properly subj. (against Humbach's protests 1959, II 22), and is correctly parallel to its correlative subj. *jamaiti*. In the RV. the subjs. of intens. stems usually appear with zero grade of root: *cēkitat marmyjat marmyṣat* etc. The Mss. vars. *vōi.vīdaiti* etc. have been influenced by common *vīdaiti* etc: 'he serves'. Lommel (1971, 42) aptly translates 'einfinden'.

*aēibhō sastē* 'in order to be announced (announce itself) to those'. *sastē* is inf. to *sanh* 'declare' here and at 46.12. For disc., cf. above 30.2 *ahmāi sazdyōi*. The other inf. of this type in the Gāthās are

*itē* 43.13, *aitē* (read *ā.itē*) 31.9, *gaṭ.tōi* 43.1, *gaṭ.tē* 51.10, *paiti.aratē* 44.12, *mrūtē* 49.6, *šavaitē* 29.3, *stōi* 31.8, 34.4 etc. They are simply the equiv. of the yAv. inf. in *-tē* and *-tayaēca*, namely, dat. sg. of the fem. abstr. in *-ti-*. Note *šavaitē* is a formation in *-ati-*: cf. 29.3. The Gāthic ending merely results from haplology in Zarathustra's dialect of orig. *\*-taya-* > *\*-tay-* (> *-tōi -tē*). Thus these forms belong directly to the abl. inf. *avapastōiš* 44.4, *frōratōiš* 46.4. Inf. *sastē* is therefore related to *fra-sastim* 49.7 and Ved. *śasti-*. Benveniste's explanation (1935, 67) of these forms is false. Cf. also *dustē* 34.1.

30.9. *aṭcā tōi vaēm liyāmā yōi im fārašām karānaui ahūm* 'Yes, may we be those who shall make this world healed'. Clearly intended to contrast with above 30.6c *yā (aēšamā) hquayān ahūm marātānō* 'with which (fury) they have afflicted the world and mankind'. Similarly, 34.15c *xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā fārašām vasaū haiθyām dā ahūm* 'Through your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly make this world healed in accord with our wish' is meant to function as antithesis to 46.11ab *xšaθrāiš yūjān karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaoθanāiš ahūm mərəugəidyāi mašm* 'During their regimes, the Kurpans and the Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy this world and mankind'. Thus, the idiom *ahūm fārašām kar* or *dā* in the Gāthās must mean 'to heal, repair the world' and it is employed to express the restorative change that AhM.'s rule of truth and good thinking (cf. preceding vss. 7-8) shall bring to the world currently afflicted by the destructive powers of deceit. Molé (1963, 172 ff.) is correct in comparing the later use of *fāraša-* as 'renovated'.

With regard to its etymology, *fāraša-* is undoubtedly to be derived as past part. from *fra ar*, i.e. *\*frarta-* > *fāraša-*, for its use is strongly reminiscent of the employment of Ved. *ūd ar* or sec. *īr*, also appearing in the meaning 'heal, repair'. Cf. RV. I 117.24cd ... *śyāvam aśvinā vikastam, ūj jivāsa airayatam* 'Ye Aśvins did heal Śyāva who was split open, in order for him to live'; I 118.6a *ūd vāndanam airataṃ daṃśānābhīḥ* 'Ye healed Vandana by means of your wondrous skills'; II 34.4cd *im no vīrāṇ arpayā bheṣajēbhir, bhiṣaktamaṃ tvā bhiṣajāṇ śṛṇami* 'Heal our heroes with your medicines. I hear that thou art the best of physicians'; etc. With this last Ved. passage, note the characterization of AhM. and Zarathustra as *ahūm.biš* 'healer of the world (existence)' 31.19, 44.2,16, which is a pointed contrast to the phrase 32.13c *aṣhāuš marəxtārō ahyā* 'the destroyers of this world' (= yAv. *ahū.mərənc-*), said of the deceitful.



*mazdāscā ahurōjyō ā.mōyastrā barauā ašōcō*. This line lacks a verb, which in fact is hidden in *ā.mōyastrō*. I envision an orig. reading *\*ā mōi stā*, which should have become *\*ō mōi astā* with the usual repetition of preverbs. Cf. 46.2c *ā īṭ avaēnā*, 49.1c *ā mōi arapā*, etc. Subsequently, accidentally changed to *\*ā mōyastā* in scriptio continua; and the final alteration of *-stā* to *-strā* results from the effects of the normalizing tendencies seen in *vāstā sqstā* 29.1, which have variants *vāstrā sqstrō*, etc.

Thus emend and translate: *mazdāscā ahurōjyō \*ā \*mōi \*(a)stō baranā ašōcō* 'Wise One and ye other lords, be present to me with support and truth'. *\*ā \*mōi \*(a)stā* thus corresponds to preceding 30.7c *aēšqm \*pōi ā ayhaṭ* 'He shall be present for the protection of these'. On *stā*, cf. 32.3, 34.6. *baranācā ašōcā* 'with support and truth' thus recalls 28.6ab *dāidī ašā ... aōjōnghvaṭ rafānō* 'Along with truth, grant powerful support', with a similar combination of *ašā ... rafānō*; etc.

*hyaṭ \*haθrā.manā hvaṭ yaθrā cistiš ayhaṭ maēθā* 'so that one (also) shall become convinced where his understanding might be false'. A compound *\*haθrā.manā* is preferable to Mss. *haθrā manā*, whose separation has taken place under the influence of *haθrā* 28.4 (cf. 29.11). For its meaning, *\*haθrā.manā* 'completely minded' certainly implies the notion of 'convinced'. On *bvaṭ*, cf. *bovaṭ* discussed at 28.11.

*cistiš maēθā* here contrasts with 48.5b *vayhuyā cistōiš* 'of good insight'. The root *miθ* originally meant 'to be on opposing sides', but early acquired the sense 'to be false', clearly attested in *miθahvacah-* 'of false words' 31.12, *miθahyā-* 'falsity' 33.1 (cf. SI. 1973. 163 ff.). Thus I prefer 'false understanding' for *cistiš maēθā*. However, in 31.12c *ānuš.haxš ārmaitiš mainyū pərəsāitē yaθrā maēθā* 'In due course piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition', it is best to consider *maēθā* as a noun contrasting with *ārmaitiš*. Thus the antithesis *ārmaitiš: maēθā* belongs to the type Y. 60.5 *ārmaitiš: tarōmaitīm* (quoted at 33.4), 33.4 *asruštīm tarōmaitīm*: 33.5 *səraošəm* etc.

30.10. *adā zī avā drūjō hvaitī skandō spayaθrahyā* 'Then indeed shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit'. J<sub>2</sub> *hvaitī* = *\*buvaitī* is the correct reading; cf. 28.11 *bavaṭ*. Most closely related parallels concerning the end of deceit appear in 44.14d *āmovaitīm sinqm dāvōi drəgvasū* 'to create a powerful schism among the deceitful' and 53.6c *āyesē \*hōi \*spiθā tanvō parā* 'I am taking away the prosperous conditions from his person', where the phrase *frāidīm drūjō* 'the

prosperity of 'deceit' precedes. The expressions *drūjō spayaθra-* and *drūjō frāidi-*, *\*hōi \*spiθa-* are intentionally parallel.

*spayaθra-*, derived from *spā* 'grow strong, prosperous' = Ved. *śvā* 'id.', permits the analysis *spay-aθra-*, with *y* replacing lost *\*a* to prevent contraction (cf. *xšay-ati* < *\*xšaa-ati* etc.: Sl. 1971, 580 fn 14); the suffix *-aθra-* is also found in *dərəzi.takaθra-* 'of mighty onrush' Vd. 3.42. The word *spi-θa-* is therefore secondary to *spayaθra-* (root is not *\*spāy-*), following the normal pattern *ay:* *i* of *i*-roots. Thus, *spayaθra-* is comparable to Ved. *śvātrā-*, which is employed in similar situations. Cf. RV. X 88.4cd *sā patatrīvarāṃ sthā jagad yac, chvātrām agnir akṣot* 'Agni has brought to prosper what flies and what goes (on foot), what stays and what moves'.

*aṭ asištā yaejantē ā hušitōiš vaṃhōuš manayhō* 'Then there shall be yoked (the swiftest (steeds) from the good dwelling place of good thinking'. RV VII 60.3a (≈ I 115.4c) *āyukta sapta haritaḥ sadhāsthāt* 'He yoked his seven steeds from (out of) their abode' clearly suggests that *hušitōiš* is abl. like *sadhāsthāt*. Thus, *hušiti-* is employed as a simple noun here (not possessive), as in 29.10b. Similar usage often in RV.: cf. II 35.15a *ciyāṇisam agne sukṣitīm jānāyu* 'Agni, I offered a good dwelling place to the folk', etc. Note also that *hucisti-* is simply 'good understanding' in 34.14c and 46.4e.

*mazdā aśahyācā yōi zazantī vaṃhōuš sravahī* 'which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth'. Because *cā* follows only *aśahyā*, it is impossible to connect *mazdā aśahyācā* with the preceding *vaṃhōuš manayhō*; cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Thus, *mazdā aśahyācā* are dependent upon the following *vaṃhōuš sravahī*, and they have been preposed before the rel. pron. to avoid breaking this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For disc., cf. 28.1 *vaṃhōuš xraithm manayhō*. In the RV, *śrāvas-* also often appears with dependent gen.: cf. V 18.5cd *dyumnād agne māhi śrāvo, bṛhāt kṛdhi maghōnām* 'Agni, make the fame of the liberal ones to be brilliant, great and lofty'; VIII 15.8ab *tāva ... pṛthivī vardhati śrāvah* 'The earth increases thy fame'; etc.

*zā* with loc. is 'surpass in, race ahead unto'. Similar usage of related Ved. *hā* in RV. I 169.2cd *marūtām pṛtsutir hāsamānā ... pradhānasya sātāu* 'The legion of the Maruts surpassed in the battle for the (good) prize'. Same meaning without loc. also in YH. 41.4 *hanaēmācā zāēmācā mazdā aṇurā θwahmī rafānahī darəgāyāu* 'May we win and surpass under Thy long-lived rule, Wise Lord'. K. Hoffmann (1968, 284 f.) prefers the translation 'to win a race for'.

In general, it is important to note that *asištā hušitāiš vañhōuš manayhā* 'the swiftest steeds of good thinking's dwelling place' is a metaphor for the faithful members of the true community. They are also called *ašahyā važdrāng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in 46.4ab *aṭ tāng drəgvā yāng ašahyā važdrāng pāṭ gā frārətāiš* 'the Deceitful One has prevented the draft oxen of truth from arising'. That passage and 30.10 here are directly related: the forces of deceit have restrained the forces of truth (46.4); but if deceit is destroyed, the truthful shall spread out to increase the good fame of their Lord (30.10). Likewise, the root *yuj* is employed metaphorically in 49.9d *ašā yuxtā* 'those yoked with truth' and in 50.7ac *aṭ vā yaojā zəvīštyōng aurvatā ... ašā ugrāng volhū manayhā* 'I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds, strong with truth and good thinking', both times referring again to the faithful with their characteristic attributes of *ašəm* and *volhū manā*. Note also the metaphor *gāuš vərəzānē* in 34.14b *vañhōuš šyaoθanā manayhā yōi zī gāuš vərəzānē azyā* 'who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow', where again it refers to the truthful and the cow stands for the way of good thinking and truth.

In another direction, the faithful are called *urvarā* 'plants' in 48.6c *aṭ ahīyāi ... mazdā urvarā vaxšat* 'and the Wise One shall increase the plants for her', where 'her' once more refers to the good vision in the guise of the cow. Similarly, *apascā urvarāscā* 'waters and plants' describe the faithful in 51.7a *yā gəm tašō apascā urvarāscā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow as well as the waters and the plants', with *gəm* appearing in its usual allegorical sense.

30.11. *hyat tā urvātā sašaθā yā mazdā dadāt* 'When ye learn those commandments which the Wise One has posed ...'. Cf. Y. 55.6 *yā dātā aṭhōuš paouruvehyā ... \*sixšənuu sācayəmna dadrāna ...* 'the laws of the foremost existence which are to be learned and taught, upheld ...', with cognates of *sašaθā* employed in similar context. Note also that the use of *tā urvātā sašaθā* corresponds to *tā vaxšyā* 'I shall speak of those things' (= teach) appearing in 30.1a above and also to 31.1a *tā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacū sənghāmahī* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words ...' in the beginning of the next hymn.

Despite H.-P. Schmidt's careful study (1958) of Ved. *vrata-* and Av. *urvāta-*, I cannot accept his attempt to explain these related words as 'vow'. Rather, I find the meaning 'commandment' given by Grassmann

(1873) et al. a far more appropriate designation for these words, particularly in view of its juxtaposition in the RV. with *śruṣṭi-* 'obedience'. Here it can only be a question of obeying the commandments of a god. E.g. RV. I 69.7ab *nākiṣ ja etā vrataṁ mūnanti, nībhya yād ebhyaḥ śruṣṭim cakārtha* 'No one infringes these commandments of thine, since thou hast demanded obedience from these men': II 38.2 *viśvavya hi śruṣṭāye devā ūrdhvāḥ, prā bāhāvā prthivāṇi sisarti āpaś cid aṣya vrataṁ ānimgrā, cīyāṁ cid vāto ranate pariṇuan* 'To have the obedience of everyone, the lofty, broad-palmed god stretches forth his arms. At his command even the waters become tranquil, even the wind stops on its circuit'.

This same question of obedience to a commandment is also expressed in a different aspect by the freq. *vrataṁ sac* 'to follow a commandment', which also alternates with *śāsur sac* 'to follow an order': VII 5.4ab *tāva ... vrataṁ eigne sacanta* 'They have followed thy commandment, Agni' and I 60.2a *śāsur ubhāvāsaḥ sacante* 'Both follow his order', etc. Here again the emphasis lies in the direction of obeying an injunction originating from a god rather than the avowal on the part of men (or priests) to establish a relationship with a god. Similarly, too, for those other verbs which designate more or less a comparable idea: *ānu i, gam, car* 'to follow', *ūpa kṣi* 'abide by', *ā dā* 'accept', etc. The concept of commandment (command) is too strikingly marked in the RV. to be denied.

For the post-Rigv. usage of *vrata-*, one must acknowledge that the various religious precepts and rules are likewise commandments pertaining to the religious sphere, and that the typical usage of *vrataṁ ūpa i* or *vrataṁ car* has the definite signification of 'approach, undertake a religious rule' or 'practice a religious rule'. Once religious life had become organized by standardized and required practices, these rules governing religious behavior were as much commandments and injunctions for the good Aryan as those issuing from his kingly leader. In these terms, *ānuvrata-* is much more 'dutiful, obedient' than it is 'faithful'.

For the Gāthās the same conceptual framework behind the Rigv. use of *vrata-* is also present for *uvrāta-*. AhM. after all is a ruler (*xšayō, xšayās*), and in this capacity he certainly instructs or commands: 48.3b *yam (sāsnam) hudā sāsī aśā ahurō*, 45.6c *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsī vahištā*. And it is the duty of the faithful to know what the command of the lord is, as well as to follow and heed it (cf. important remarks at 48.3). Thus, there are the related statements in the same Gāthā

of 31.3b *hyaṭ urvatəm cazdōnjhavadəbyō taṭ nō mazdā vidvanōi vaocā* 'Speak, Wise One, in order for us to know what is the commandment for Thy adherents' and 31.1a *tā vō urvātā marəntō* 'Heeding these commandments of yours ...'. In both instances the *urvata-* issues from god, as is expected. Similarly, it is understandable that the separation of the truthful from the deceitful lies in the adherence to the commands of AhM., a question also touched upon in Y. 31: cf. 31.18a *\*naēcīš* (Mss. *mā.cīš*) *aṭ vō drəgvatō mąθraqscā gūštā sāsuāscā* 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and orders (instructions)' contrasting with 31.19a *gūštā yō mantā ašəm* 'He has listened, who has respected the truth'. Therefore the deceitful are characterized to have hatred for AhM.'s commandments (34.8b *θwalyā mazdā qstā urvātahyā*) and to follow the contrary commandments of deceit (31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō*). Cf. Addenda to 28.1.

Finally, it appears that if we have the relationship of *dāθa-* 'just' to *dāta-* 'law', then *urvaθa-* is best translated as 'ally' in view of *urvāta-* 'commandment'.

*x'itīcā ānəitī hyaṭcā* 'both a way of easy access and one without access, as well as ...'. Cf. 28.2 *astvatasē hyaṭcā*.

*darəgām drəgvō.dəbyō rašō savacā ašavahyō* 'long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful'. *cā* is adversative here; cf. above 30.7 *ahmāicā*.

*aṭ aipī tāiš aṇhəitī* 'then one shall abide by these (commandments)'. *aipī ah* with instr. is the equiv. of Ved. *āpi as* 'to abide in' with loc. Cf. RV. VIII 44.24c *syāma te sunatāv āpi* 'May we abide in thy benevolence'. X 71.6ab *yās tityāja ... sakhāyau, nā tāsyā vācy āpi bhāgō asti* 'Good fortune does not abide in the speech of the person who has abandoned his comrade', etc. Similar usage without *aipī* also in the Gāthās at 49.7c *kō x'aētus dātāiš aṇhəi* 'Which family shall abide by Thy laws?' The suppletive caus. is found in 31.17b *uā əvidvā aipī dābāvayaṭ* (orig. *\*bāvayaṭ*) 'Let not the unknowing one participate'. In general, *aipī urvātāiš ah* corresponds to Ved. *vrātām ūpa kṣi*: cf. RV. III 59.3c *ādityāsya vrātām upakṣiyāntaḥ* 'abiding in the commandment of the Āditya'.

*uštā* 'Wish it so!' Interpretation as impv. seems fully defensible in the Gāthās. Later usage as 'hail' can simply be a reassessment of the term as a benediction. History of the word is thus parallel to Indic *hanta*, also originally an impv. form (cf. Thieme 1938, 2 f.).

## Yasna 31

The theme of this Gāthā focuses upon the precepts of the Wise Lord (1-3, 5-6, 18-21) and the benefits which they can bring to this debased earthly existence if they are brought to realization by mankind in its world. To justify the need for mankind to obey these commandments of the Wise One, Zarathustra searches into the essence and character of his true lord and of the moral principles which he created that compelled him to then offer these as a means of salvation for this life (7-13). Again the prophet inquires of his god how these lordly values shall be brought to life on earth (14, 16, 22) and how the deceitful shall be punished for their hindrance of the institution of truth and good thinking in this world (15, 18, 20).

The beginning of this lyric is of extremely complex structure in that the first 6 verses are alternately addressed first to the immortal forces (1, 3, 5), then to the adherents of the prophet (2, 4, 6), with each of the statements provoking a corresponding affirmation directed to the complementary sides of the forces of truth and good thinking represented by god and man. Similarly, the first part of verse 7 is addressed to men, the last part to the lord, again motivated by the mutual cooperation required by both god and man for each to survive.

Establishing the inherent antithesis between the destructive powers of deceit and the creative capacity of truth in verse 1, Zarathustra immediately seizes upon the notion of the precepts and commandments of the Wise Lord and affirms to his god that those men in this world who are allied with truth obey and propagate the true words of the Wise One, because it is through the enactment of the lord's teachings that good shall arise again in this existence. Turning now to his followers in verse 2, the prophet assures them that he shall move them in a compelling way to bring about the good in their lives even if their understanding of its power is not immediately comprehended from the precepts of their lord. This provides the transition to verse 3, in which Zarathustra asks his master to reveal the final nature of the reward or punishment for mankind, for it is perhaps through the fear of damnation that the prophet must convince these mortals, in a coercive fashion, to turn to the cause of virtue.

Verse 4 then assures the adherents that the Wise One and his enduring moral forces shall rally to this cause of virtue, whereby the

power of deceit shall be destroyed on earth. After promising this participation of god in the defeat of evil, Zarathustra needs to ask of his god in the following verse how he indeed shall offer help to his prophet. This requirement of god's intercession to preserve the existence of man moves into the profound statement addressed to the adherents in verse 6: Man also must intercede to preserve the existence of god, for the power of god derives its strength from the enactment of his essence and principles in the world of man. This message is so important that it is presented as a precept of the lord.

Verse 7 then paraphrases this fundamental notion in a decisive way. To bring happiness and the good to mankind, the Wise Lord was moved by his benevolent spirit to create truth and good thinking. Yet for the lord to grow in his rightful power, mankind must also be moved by the same spirit founded upon truth and good thinking. The destiny of the world of man and the destiny of the world of god are thus linked in this cooperative function.

The remainder of this hymn is addressed to the Wise Lord. First, Zarathustra announces his own personal vision of the nature of the Wise One. He is the first and the last because he is ever creative in spirit, and his creativity wrought the godly principles of truth and good thinking (8). He created piety to give dignity to his rule, the virtuous spirit to move him in a benevolent way. And through this benevolence he created the rule of good thinking and truth for mankind, while also fashioning the truthful man who can promote this blessing in his own world (9-10). He granted men the full dimension of freedom and understanding so that each person can make his individual choice with regard to good and evil (11-12). He is all-knowing and just, and possesses powers to dispose as his just nature sees fit (13).

This embracing portrait of god by his prophet is intended to disclose to the Wise One that his chief supporter truly understands the depth and breadth of his lord's nature and that he is therefore fit to know the ultimate truths about which he then inquires in the following verses 14-17. These concern the events of the future: Will deceit be defeated, and what punishment shall there be for the deceitful? Who shall bring about the furtherance of truth, and how shall the truthful be rewarded?

The final verses return to the question of the precepts of the lord. Verse 18 affirms that the deceitful have taken no heed of the Wise One's precepts, since they have continued to destroy the world. By contrast, in verse 19 Zarathustra solemnly asserts that he has indeed

been mindful of these truths in his self-envisioned role as healer of the world. In proof of this he cites directly in verses 20-21 from those words of his god which contain the fundamental doctrines of existence in its highest form: The deceitful await damnation but the truthful heaven and salvation, for the truthful man is of the same essence as his true and virtuous god. The last verse again affirms to the Wise Lord that these teachings are the inspiration for any man who has chosen to serve the good cause of man and god with truth and good thinking.

31.1. *iā vā urvātā marəutō aguštā vacā sānghāmahi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words (gone) unheard ...'. *aguštā* is intentional contrast to *marəutō*, just as 31.18a *\*māēcīš* (Mss. *mā.cīš*) *uī vā drəgvatō mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnāscā* is careful antithesis to the whole phrase *iā vā urvātā marəutō*. On *urvātā*, cf. 30.11.

*sānghāmahi*. The root *sauh* is employed in 3 senses in the Gāthās. (1) 'declare or announce'. Cf. 44.1bc *yaθā nəmā ... θwāvąs sahyāi mavañē* 'Someone like Thee should declare to me how reverence is to be ...' and 43.6dc *aēihyō ratūš sānghaiti ārmaitiš θwalyā xratōuš* 'To them piety announces the judgments of Thy will'. Same usage also for the infs. *sazdyāi* and *sastē* discussed at 30.2 *ahmāi (nā) sazdyāi* etc. This employment corresponds to *sāngha-* 'word' when used in unmarked association with *šyaοθana-* 'deed', e.g. 31.11c *šyaοθanaūcā sānghąscā*, 51.14b *xāiš šyaοθanaūšcā sānghāišcā*; also *sax'ar/n-* 'word' (cf. 29.4).

(2) 'teach'. Here the meaning is most easily perceived in the singular use of *sānghu-*. Cf. 44.14c *θwalyā mąθrāiš sānghahyā* 'according to the precepts of Thy teaching', 48.12bc *xšnām* (orig. *\*xšnqm*) ... *θwalyā sānghahyā* 'the understanding of Thy teaching', 43.14d *sarədanā sānghahyā* 'the opponents of Thy teaching'. Also in plural in 48.3c *yaēcī gūzrā sānghahyō* 'even the secret teachings', 46.3c *vərəzdūiš sānghāiš saōšyantqm xratavō* 'the intentions of the saviors are in harmony with Thy mature teachings', etc. For verbal forms in this meaning, I find besides 31.1 here the use of *sānghānī* at 46.17ac *yaθrā vā afšmānī sānghānī ... valmāng* 'where I shall teach to you in verse the glories ...', where the situation also describes the instruction of the faithful into the true doctrines. Same use also for *sąstra-* 46.3; *duš.sasti-* 32.9, 45.1, both times referring to *augrō mainyuš*.

(3) technical sense 'decree' (legally). Clearly in 32.7b *yā* (= *aēnā*) *jōyā* (*\*jivyā*) *sānghaitē* 'which sins are decreed to be capital', where employed next to legal terms *aoj* 'accuse', *sru* 'try', etc. Similarly, in 44.9cd, where it is a question of a ruler decreeing an institute throughout



his realm : *yqm ... paitiša sahiyāi xšaθrahiyā arəšvā xšaθrā* 'which the master of a realm would decree by reason of his lofty rule'. Finally, legal sense is attested also in *sānghuša-* 'decree' 34.7, which appears besides similar legal term *raēxənah-* 'legacy' (cf. 32.11 *apayeiti raēxənahiō vaēdəm*).

*gaēθā-* is simply 'living creature' and corresponds to *gaya-* 'life' in the same way as *ahvā-* 'being' 51.9 corresponds to *ahu-* 'existence, world'. With the latter, we also have *yōi hanti* 'those who exist' 44.16, 45.6, 51.10, whose gen. is always *hātqm* 44.10 (restored also at 32.6), never *\*aēšqm yōi hanti*. Note also 29.3 *avaēšqm hātqm* 'of yon beings', referring to men on earth. The fig. *ašahyā gaēθā* is discussed at 44.15.

The juxtaposition of *urvātā marəntō* 'heeding your commandments' and *vacā sānghāmahī ... valīštā* 'we teach the best words' reappears in 48.3 as the prime directive for the man who will accept the good form of existence. Cf. latter passage for disc.

31.2. *ye-i āiš nōi urvānē \*advā* (Mss. *advā*) *aibi.dərəštā valiyā* 'If the better course for the soul has not been seen through these (words) ...'. The attested reading *advā* as nom. sg. of *advan-*, besides acc. *advānam* 34.13, 44.3. does not show influence of *pautā* 'path', but has been changed in the course of the transmission of the text from *\*advā* under the effects of adjacent *valiyā*, *aī vā* (particularly), *mazdā ayā qsayā*; cf. introd. p. 6. The form *\*advā* should be restored in this passage.

Here *aibi.dərəštā* is 3sg. medio-pass. aor. of *dys*. Besides the regular pass. forms in *-i*, viz. *cəviši* (*\*cōiši*) 'was promised' 51.15, *vāci* 'was said' 43.13, *srāvi* 'was heard' 32.7,8, 45.10, 53.1, the following *-tā* forms are employed passively: *fiqštā* 'was attained' 43.14, *acistā* (*\*ācistā*) 'has shown himself' 51.11, *cəvištā* (*\*cōišitā*) 'was promised' 34.13, *dātā* 'was granted, established' 31.5, 33.8, 34.2,14 (on ablaut, cf. 29.5 *hiya mazdqm dvaidi*).

*aī vā vispāng āyōi yaθā ratīm ahurō vaēdā* 'then let me lead all of you in which way the Wise Lord knows to exist that judgment ...'. *āyōi* requires *aθā* or *iθā* as correlative to following *yaθā*. Similar syntax in 31.14ac *pərəsā ... yaθā tā ayhan*, 44.1bc *yaθā namā ... sahiyāi*, 44.18de *apivaiti ... yaθā hī taihyō dāyhā*, all with suppression of correlative *aθā* or *iθā*. The acc. *ratīm* in 31.2b here probably requires an inf. *stōi*.

*āyōi* is inf. to *ā i* and is to be read as *\*ā.iyōi*, exactly as the inf. *aitē* in 31.9 below metrically requires *\*ā.iitē*. Its employment is clearly jussive, parallel to *\*arōi* in 50.5a *\*arōi ... mazdā* 'Let wisdom come (or

arise)'. and its caus. value 'lead' the only possible interpretation. Connections with *yā* 'entreat' are excluded, since this root does not appear with the preverb *ā*: cf. *yāsā* 28.1.8, 49.8 etc., *yāsaṭ* 32.1, *yāsqs* 49.12.

*ayā asayā* 'between the two lots, alternatives'. *asa-* is cognate with Ved. *amśa-* 'portion' and the Av. word is used in the sense 'alternative, possibility'.

31.3. *yam ... cōis rānōihyā xsuūtām* 'which satisfaction Thou hast promised to both factions'. *xsuūt-*, from the root *xšnu* 'satisfy' (cf. 28.1 *xšnōvisā*), is 'satisfaction' in the legalistic sense. Cf. Oxf. Eng. Dict. IX, 121 sub satisfaction 1.1: 'The payment in full of a debt, or the fulfilment of an obligation or claim ... the pecuniary or other gift or penalty, or the act, by which a debt or obligation is discharged or an offense atoned for'. This is exactly the sense in which *xsuūt-* appears in the Gāthās. In general, almost all words pertaining to the final judgment are taken from the legal vocabulary: cf. 30.2 *yāh-*.

*yā jvautō vīspāug vārayā* 'by which I might convert all the living'. On *vārayā*, cf. 28.5 *vāurōnuaidi*.

31.4. *yadā ašəm zəvīm aghəm mazdāscā almrāghō* 'When I might summon truth, (then) the Wise One and the other lords shall appear'. According to 50.9cd *yadā ... xšayā, aṭ ... liyāu* 'when I might have control, then I would be ...' and 30.8ab *yadā ... jamaiti, aṭ ... vōi.vīdaitē* 'when it will come, then it shall be on hand', it appears clear that 31.4a here is shortened from *yadā ašəm zəvīm, (aṭ) aghəm ...*, and that *zəvīm* must represent a modal verbal form. Thus, the metrically necessary restitution *\*zəvīyām* represents the old 1sg. med. aor. opt. *\*zuvīya*, which has attracted the final *-m* of *ašəm* in the course of the recitation of the Gāthās. For a similar mistake, cf. 33.5b *daragō.jyāitīm ā xšaθrām* and introd. p. 7. The aor. form is thus comparable to 1sg. *\*diyā* 29.8, and the fig. *\*ašəm \*zuvīya* of the Urtext recalls 43.10a *ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozāomī*, 51.10c *maihyō zhayā ašəm* (partially incorrect, SI. 1965, 19). A proper orthographic representation of *\*zuvīyā* in the Mss. should be *\*ūyā* (cf. *jūya-* from *\*jīvyā-*) or *\*zəvyā*.

*vahištā išasā* (orig. *\*išā*) *manayhā* 'I shall seek through the very best thinking'. For meaning and orthography, cf. 30.1 *išantō*. Cf. also 50.2 *kaθā ... gəṃ išasōiṭ*, where this phrase is discussed.

31.5. *hyaṭ mōi ašā dātā vohyō* 'what very good thing has been created for me by truth'. *dātā* is 3sg. med. aor. used passively. On the necessary full-grade restoration of *dā-*, cf. 29.8 *\*dīyā*. Cf. also 31.2 *aibi.darāštā* above.

31.6. *ahmāi aṇhaṭ vahīštəm yā mōi vidvā vaocāi* 'The best shall be for him, the knowing one who shall tell to me ...'. The referent of *ahmāi* and *yā* is impersonal, not AhM., since it is one of the prime duties of the faithful to realize that their piety and good actions give life to god, the notion contained in the *maqθra* appearing in line c. This impersonal usage is quite common, and the nearest parallels appear in 46.18ab *yā maibyā yaoš ahmāi ascīṭ vahīštā ... cōišəm* 'Who (has given) life to me, to him I have promised the very best things' and 46.19ac *yā mōi ... varəšaiti ... ahmāi miždəm* 'Who shall bring to realization for me ..., for him shall there be a prize'.

*haiθim maθram yim haurvatātō ašahyā amərətātascā* 'the real precept concerning the truth of (His = AhM.) completeness and immortality'. The following *maqθra* pertains to AhM., and therefore the current line concerns the truth about AhM.'s completeness and immortality, not the completeness and immortality of truth, a subject never touched upon in the text. On *maqθra*-, cf. 29.7 The word *maqθra*- etc.

*mazdāi avaṭ xšaθrəm hyaṭ hōi volū vaxšaṭ manayhā* 'Such is the rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking'. Possible also: 'Rule for the Wise One is (only) as great as one shall ...'. This line is surely the *maqθra* mentioned, for it contains one of the fundamental precepts for the faithful. For parallels and disc., cf. 47.1 *spəntā mainyū* etc.

31.7. *raocēbiš rōiθwən x'āθrā* 'Let them be joined with happiness throughout their days'. Direct quote dependent upon preceding *manā*. On *raocēbiš* 'throughout the days', cf. 30.7 *ayaṇhā ādānāis* (also SI. 1970, 187 ff.). *rōiθwən* is typical usage of jussive inf.; cf. also *āyōi* in 31.2 above, *uxšyō* below, and list given at 34.3. Syntax of *rōiθwən x'āθrā* follows *tā ... mainyū uxšyō* 'through this very spirit Thou art to grow' in line c.

*hvō xraθwā dāmiš ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahīštəm manō* 'He created truth with this intention, with which (intention) He has (also) upheld the very best thinking'. Idea follows naturally upon the preceding statement: once AhM. decided to bring enduring happiness to the world, he created truth and good thinking to make this possible. Thus, *yā* must resume *xraθwā*, which is varied with *tā ... mainyū* in the final line. On this syntactic type, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc.

*tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō* 'through this very spirit Thou art to grow, Wise One'. Intention is: through the same effort of truth and good thinking on the part of the faithful man, AhM. will grow in strength.

Thus, a paraphrase of the preceding *mqθra* 31.6c *mazdāi ayaṣ xšaθrəm hyaṣ hōi vohū va.xšaṣ manayhā*.

*ā nūrānciṣ* 'up to now indeed'. Same use of *ā* with acc. in 46.8d *tanvām ā* 'up to his body (person)'.

31.8. *paourvīm ... yazūm stōi* '... the first one to be (ever) young'. Intentional juxtaposition of *paourvya-* and *yazu-* meant to express not only the immortality of god but also his constant creative powers.

*vayhāuš ptarēm manayhō hyaṣ θwā hām cašmaini grabəm* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking ...'. *vayhāuš ptarēm manayhō* belongs within the rel. clause, but has been preposed in order not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For parallels, cf. 28.1 *vayhāuš xratūm manayhō*. Generally, this whole verse is a paraphrase of the preceding vs. 31.7.

31.9. *θwā ā gāuš tašā \*aš.xratuš* (Mss. *as xratuš*) *mainyuš* (Jp<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>1-2</sub>, Pt<sub>1</sub>, etc.) 'Thine was the fashioner of the cow, the spirit of great determination'. In view of Yt. 10.141 *hayanqm asti aš.xraθwastāmō*, it is preferable to restore *\*aš.xratuš*, agreeing with *mainyuš*, in place of accepted reading *as xratuš* (note *aš* in L<sub>1</sub>, Bb<sub>1</sub>). Reading has been influenced by *as* in the preceding parallel phrase *θwōi as ārmaitiš*; for disc. and parallels, cf. introd. p. 8. The var. *mainyuš* is also better since the *spantō mainyuš* is the *gāuš tašā*, and both terms are merely set in apposition with one another.

*vāstryāṣ vā āitē* (metr. *\*ā.itē*) *yā vā nōiṣ aṣhaṣ vāstryō* 'Either to go (to him who) shall act as pastor or (to him) who shall not be pastor'. The form *vāstryāṣ* is 3sg. subj. of denom. *\*vāstryaiti* (cf. *vāstryaēta* Vd. 14.17, etc.) and thus is antithesis to flg. *yā nōiṣ aṣhaṣ vāstryā*. Latter phrase is necessary because negative denom. *\*avāstryaiti* is impossible. Thus, *yā* has been omitted in the beginning of the first phrase, a feature also occurring in 31.13b below, where *yā vā kasāuš aēnahō ā mazīstqm yamaitē būjīm* stands for *yā vā ... \*yā vā ā ... yamaitē ...* Likewise in 48.4a *yā dāṣ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā*, which derives from underlying *\*yā dāṣ manō vahyō mazdā yascā ašyō*. Similarly, *ahmāi* is suppressed in both clauses (indirect obj. of *āitē*), but this omission of the demon. pron. is a common feature. Cf. below 31.15a *yā maēniš (ahmāi) yā ... hunāiṣ*, 31.21ac *dadāṣ ... vazdvarā (ahmāi) yā hōi ... urvaθō*, etc.

This type of abbreviated style of discourse also reoccurs at 46.6a *aṣ yastām nōiṣ nā isəmnō āyāṣ*, again representing *\*aṣ yastām nōiṣ nā isəmnō ādrītā yā ahmāi āyāṣ* 'But the able man who would not receive that person who shall come to him ...'. Also 51.12b *hyaṣ ahmi urūraost*

*aštō*, which stands for \**hyaṭ tām ahmī urūraost yā aštō* 'when he rebuffed him who had arrived at that spot'.

31.10. *ṣṣānghiya-* (also 49.9) I translate as 'cultivator', following Bailey's suggestion (1934, 275 f.) that the word belongs with Mid. Pers. *ṣṣah*, *ṣṣeh* 'farmer'. This is reasonable in view of the agricultural vocabulary chosen by Zarathustra to speak in metaphoric terms of his ideas; cf. 30.2 *yāh-*.

*nōiṭ ... avāstryō davqscinā humarətōiš baxštā* 'Never did the non-pastor have a share in the friendship of her who requires good attention'. Related to 29.9b *hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō* 'there should always be cow-caring zeal by a pastor'. I connect *davqscinā* (for \**duvqscinā*; cf. 28.11 *bavaṭ*) with Ved. *dīvas-* 'friendship', *duvasyāti* 'befriends'. Thus the notion *davqscinā ... baxštā* close to Ved. idea in RV. III 33.12b *ābhakta vipraḥ sumatiṃ nadīnām* 'The poet has shared the benevolence of the rivers'.

The root *mar* 'remember' has the connotation 'heed, be attentive to' in the Gāthās. Cf. above 31.1a *urvātā marəntō*, 43.14e *yōi tōi maθrā marənti* 'who are attentive to (heed) Thy precepts', 29.4a *mazdā sax'ārē mairištō* 'The Wise One is the first to heed His words (agreements)'. Thus, I interpret *humarəti-* as 'needing good attention', and this recalls *gaodāyō* of 29.2 cited above. The good vision requires an effort on the part of the truthful man: cf. below 31.22a *ciθrā ī hucāyghē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi manayhā* 'These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking' and 50.2ab *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skəraētīm gəm išasōiṭ, yā him ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ* 'How, Wise One, should that person seek after the joy-bringing cow (= the good vision), namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage (= peace) to him?'. Therefore, it is natural that the deceitful man who has rejected the ways of truth and good thinking should have no interest in expending the required attention to the cow.

31.11. *hyaṭ astvantəm dadā uštanəm* 'since Thou didst create body and breath'. On asyndetic *astvantəm ... uštanəm*, cf. 30.7 *kəhrpəm ... qnmā*.

*yaθrā varənəng vasā dāyetē* 'whereby a person with volition expresses his preferences'. I follow Bthlm. (1904, 1383) in taking *vasā* as nom. sg. of adj. *vasah-*, for the idea intended is surely that when a man is free to do so, he shows certain definite preferences. Thus, *vasā* corresponds to the common idiom *vasē xsā* 'to rule at will, have free reign

over', and the implication arising from the next verse, and in fact from this whole Gāthā, is that the truthful man makes the correct decisions. Cf. same notion in 50.9cd *yadā ašōiš mahiyā vasō xšayā, aī hudānaos ... garəzdā hīām* 'If I could have free reign over my reward, then I would be in the stride of the blessed one (= truth)'.

*dāyētē* is difficult, but may represent orig. *\*dayetē* (with influence of *dāyāī* etc.). In that case I would derive it from *dī* 'view, consider' (cf. *daidyai* for *\*didyayā* 44.10), with the pair perf. *diḍaya* Y. 62.8 (sec. pres. *\*diḍaēti*) and pres. *\*dayatē* parallel to Ved. *bibhāya* (sec. pres. *bibheti*) and *bhāyate* (cf. Sl. 1971, 583 f.). As for the meaning 'express' besides 'view', note that the root *caś*, like Ved. *khyā*, means both 'see' and 'relate'. Cf. N. 17 *yō \*azrazdāi \*mθrām cašte* 'who relates the precept to the unfaithful man ...'.

31.12. *ānuš.haxš ārmaitiš mainyū pərəsāitē yaθrā maēθā* 'In due course piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition'. *ārmaitiš* 'piety' and *maēθā* 'opposition' are in deliberate contrast here: cf. 30.9 *cistiš maēθā* for disc. Owing to the preceding adverb *ānuš.haxš* (= Ved. *ānuśāk* 'in turn'), the subj. *pərəsāitē* (K<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>2</sub>, etc.) is the preferable reading. Cf. RV. IV 4.10d *yās ta āritihyām ānuśāg jūjoṣat*, X 176.2c *havyāi no vakṣat ānuśāk*, etc., where *ānuśāk* occurs with subj. verb form.

31.13. *yā fṛasā āvišyā yā vā ... pərəsāitē tayā* 'which deliberation is open, or which is deliberated in secret'. In view of *fṛasāhyō* 29.5, *fṛasām* (\*-qm) 43.9, etc., *fṛasā* must be nom. sg. of the stem *fṛasā-* 'question' (so, HH. 1952a, 26). Consequently, *yā vā ...* of the second clause must be fully parallel to the preceding *yā āvišyā fṛasā* and therefore nom. sg. as well. Thus *pərəsāitē* (K<sub>5</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>) is the correct reading. Syntax simply same as 45.1b *yaēcā asuāī yaēcā dūrāī išaθā* 'both ye who seek from near and ye who from afar', 48.4a *yā dāī manō vahyō ... ašyascā* 'who has set his mind on the good and (who) on the bad', etc. Similarly, 31.17a below *ašavā vā drəgvā vā vərənvaitē mazyō* 'Does the truthful man or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?'.

*tayā* (for *\*tāyā*) coming at the end of the line is most likely adverbial 'in secret'. Such adverbial qualifications usually appear in this metrical position: *vyānayā* 29.6, *sāsuayā* 29.7, *yezi tāiš aθā* 32.6a, *vispāng ... spašyā dvaēšayhā* 44.11c, etc.

*yā vā kasāuš aēnayhō ā mazištqm yamaitē būjīm* 'either the one who is guilty of a small offense, (or the one who) shall receive a very great punishment'. Hinz (1960, 85 f.) is correct in requiring a contrast of

subjects in this line, as in the preceding one. Line is thus reduced from expected \**yā vā kasāuš aēnayhō yā vā ā mazištqm yamaitē būjim*. For disc. and syntactic parallels, cf. above 31.9 *vāstryāt vā* etc.

The gen. *kasāuš aēnayhō* (sc. *astī*) is the regular way to express the notion 'to be guilty of'. Cf. 32.7a *aēšqm aēnayhqm naēcīť vīdvā aojōi* 'a knowing man is never accused (to be guilty) of these sins' and 32.8c *aēšqmcīť ā ahmī* 'if I am indeed guilty of these (sins) ...'.

*cašmāng θwisrā hārō* 'regarding with clarity of vision' corresponds to the notion 30.2a *avaēnatā sūcā manayhā* 'Reflect with a clear mind'.

*abīť ašā vaēnahi vīspā* corresponds to the Ved. type RV. VII 61.1c *abhi yō vīšvā bhuivanāni cāsť* 'who looks upon all creatures', said of the sun in its function as the eye of Varuṇa.

31.14. On the sequence in verses 14-16 of *parāsā ... parāsā avať ... parāsā avať ...*, cf. 29.10 *avať*. The form *āiti* is to be read as \**ā.aē(i)ti*; cf. *āyōi* (for \**ā.iyōi*) in vs. 2 above, *āitē* (for \**ā.itē*) in vs. 9 above.

*yā išudō dadāntē dāθrauqm hacā ašāunō* is literally 'which claims among the payments shall be taken from the truthful'. Bthlm. (1904. 375) was certainly right in defining *išud-* as 'Schuldforderung', although I prefer 'claim, due', which can be applied to the denom. *išūidyairi* 'pay or give due (to someone)'. Cf. YH. 39.4 *aθā θwā āiš yazamaidē aθā nāmaliyāmahī aθā išūidyāmahī θwā mazdā ahurā* 'In exactly this way we worship Thee with these goods, we reverence Thee, we give Thee Thy due. Wise Lord'. Same meaning also valid in RV. for *išudhyāti*: cf. V 50.1abc *vīšvo devāsya uetiť, mārto virita sakhyām / vīšva rāyā išudhyati* 'Each mortal should choose the comradeship of the god who is leader. Each pays (him) his due for the purpose of wealth'. Note that RV. V 41.6c has *išudhyāva gtasāpah* 'giving one's due and serving with truth' in coordination; these terms almost define each other. In general, we can say that *išudam* with med. *dā* 'to take as a claim' is merely the complementary expression to the common notion *xšnūtəm* with act. *dā* 'to give one's satisfaction'. Both are certainly legal terms.

*yaθā tā aṇhən hāukarātā hyať* 'how they shall appear when their readiness (is at hand)'. *hāukarātā* is clearly related to Ved. *sāṃskṛ* 'to prepare, make ready', and the best solution is to take the form as a syncope from \**hāukarātātā*, thus directly comparable to the freq. *amaratāt-* often syncopated from *amaratātāt-*. Cf. also \**hām.usťō* 46.4 < \**hām.us.tatō*.

31.15. Verse 15 is antithesis to verse 16.

*drəgvāitē ... duš.šyaoθanāi* 'for the deceitful one of evil actions' must refer to *angrō mainyuš*, whose rule here (*xšaθrəm*) is contrasted with the rule of truth (*xšaθrəm ... ašā*) in the flg. vs. In general, Zarathustra refers to the evil spirit by his true name only when describing cosmological events (cf. 30.3,5, 45.2), but otherwise refers to him by appropriate epithets when discussing his effects or possible effects in the world at the current time or in the future. Most common epithet is *drəgvant-* appearing at 32.14b, 33.2a (contrast *ahuraḥyā mazdā*), 43.8b (contr. *ašaonē. vasasə.xšaθrahyā* = AhM.), 45.1de *duš.sastiš ... drəgvā*, 46.4a (contr. *ašahyā*), 46.7b (contr. *θvahnāi* [= AhM.] *āθrascā* etc.), 49.9b (contr. *ašā*), 50.3d (contr. *mazdā*), 51.8b (contr. *yā ašəm dādrē* = AhM.), 53.7c. Like *drəgvāitē ... duš.šyaoθanāi* here, note also *duš.sastiš* 32.9a, 45.1de (see above). Finally, *acištəm mantūm* 33.4c also refers to *angrō mainyuš*.

*yā nōiṭ jyōtūm hanarə vīnasti vāstryehyā aēnajiḥ pasēnš virāatcā adrujyantō* 'who finds no means of living apart from harming the cattle and men of the undeceiving pastor'. Related: 46.7b *hyaṭ mā drəgvā \*dādarəšati aēnajiḥ* 'if the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall dare to harm me' and 46.8a *yā vā mōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnajiḥ* 'who takes it upon himself to harm my creatures'. The flg. *vāstryehyā adrujyantō* is intended to contrast with preceding *drəgvā*.

31.16. *yaθā hvō yā hudānuš dāmanahyā xšaθrəm ... ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā*. Since the augment is never used in the Gāthās with a verbal stem beginning with a consonant, *fradaθāi aspərəzatā* should be emended to read *\*fradaθāi.ā \*spərəzatā*. Cf. 30.3 *asrvātəm* for parallel restorations, and cp. the related forms *ahurāi.ā* 29.5, *magāi.ā* 29.11, *xarəθāi.ā* 34.11, etc., all altered from orig. *\*-āyā* by the redactors since this form of the them. dat. was unknown to them. Furthermore, *spərəzatā* cannot be an imperf. (or aor.) verbal form because the rel. clause must contain a subj. parallel to the following *ayhaṭ* of *yadā hvō ayhaṭ*. Therefore I see the necessity of supplying *ayhaṭ* in both phrases *yaθā hvā* and *yā hudānuš*, and of interpreting *spərəzatā* as instr. of an abstr. *spərəzatā*- 'eagerness'; cf. *hānkəratā*- from *\*hānkəratātā*- in vs. 14 above and yAv. *yesnyatā- vahmyatā- xšnaoθwatā-*, all Yt. 8.50. Also possible *spərəzatā* < *\*spərəza-tāt-ā*.

Therefore translation is: 'how that person shall be, the blessed one who shall appear with eagerness to prosper the rule of house ... with truth'. Free use of infinitival *\*fradaθāi.ā* also appears in the related



passage 45.9cd *varəzi nā dyāi ahurā pasūš vīrāng ahmākāng fradaθāi.ā* 'May the Lord place us in effectiveness in order to prosper our cattle and men with truth'. To prosper the rule with truth is a paraphrase for the realization of the rule of truth.

31.17. *ašavā vā dragvā vā varənvaitē mazyō* 'Does the truthful one or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?'. For translation, cf. 28.5 *vānrāimaidī*.

*mā əvidvā aipī dābāvayaŋ*. Since we have the caus.-iter. *dābaveitī* 'deceives' 43.6, it is impossible that *dābāvayaŋ* (metr. \**dbāv-*) can belong to the root *dab* 'deceive'. The form simply stands for \**bāvayaŋ* and shows the same hypercorrect orthography found in *dəbqəzaitī* 44.6, *dəbqəzayhā* 47.6, etc.; cf. also *aipī.dəbaoya-* Yt. 15.45 and Bthlm. (1895, 178 §302.5). This \**aipī bāvayaŋ* is simply the suppletive caus. to *aipī ... aŋhaitī* 'shall abide' discussed at 30.11, and has the sense 'participate', similar to Skt. *amī bhū* 'participate, experience'.

31.18. Verses 18 and 19 contrast with one another.

*mā.ciš aŋ vā dragvatō mqrəscā gūštā sāsnaścā*. I find the reading *mā.ciš* difficult for two reasons. (1) In the preceding verse the prohibitive *mā əvidvā aipī dābāvayaŋ* correctly contrasts with a preceding impv. *mraotū*, but in vs. 18 here *gūštā* seems only to be a simple past coordinated with the flg. simple past *dāŋ*. (2) Since 18 and 19 are antithetical, I would expect that a statement 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened' would be the proper contrast to the following *gūštā yə mantā ašəm*, also a simple past. For these reasons I emend *mā.ciš* to \**naēcīš* and explain *mā* as an intrusion from the preceding verse, perhaps ascribable to the handwork of the redactors. Cf. introd. p. 9.

Thus translate: 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and orders (instructions)'. Idea resumes notion of above 31.1b *yōi nrvātāiš drijā ašaliyā gaēθā vīmərəncaitē* 'who, in accord with the commandments of deceit, destroy the creatures of truth', for the enemies of the truthful clearly obey the precepts of deceit rather than those of AhM.

*āzi dāmānam ... dāŋ dūšitācā marakaēcā* 'for he has set house ... in strife and destruction'. Contrasts with 29.10b *yā (= xšaθrā) lušəitīs rāmaqcā dāŋ* 'through which (rule) one shall create peace and tranquility'.

31.19. *gūštā yə mantā ašəm* 'He has listened who has respected the

truth'. The root *man* freq. has the sense 'respect' in the Gāthās. Cf. 33.6b *yā* (= *mazdahā*) *varəzəyēdyāi mantā vāstryā* 'with which (thinking) he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties': 51.16ab *tqm ... nqsaṭ ... yqm cistini ašā mantā* 'he reached this understanding, which he respected in harmony with truth': 43.9de *rātqm namayhā ... manyāi* 'I shall respect the gift of reverence': 46.13c *tām rā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim* 'We respected him among you as the good companion of truth'. This meaning of *man* contrasts with *pāri man* 'disrespect', which appears in *pāri.maiti-* in 32.3ab *aṭ yūš daēvā ... sīā ciθrām drūjasē pairi.maitōišcā* 'But ye *daēvas* are the seed of deceit and disrespect'. Also stated as 34.8c *yōi nōiṭ ašam mainyamā* 'who have not respected the truth', which is an intended contrast to *yā mantā ašam* here in 31.19a.

Vedic has exactly the same meanings for *man* and *pāri man*. Cf. RV. VI 30.2a *ādihā manye brhād asuryāni asya* 'I respect his lofty lordiness': X 34.13b *vittē ramaṣva bahū manyamānāḥ* 'Take pleasure in thy possessions, respecting them much': II 12.10b *āmanyamānān chārva jaghāna* 'With his missile he slew those who did not respect him'. On last 2 passages, cf. Lüders (1940, 593 fn 1). *Pāri man* appears in VII 59.3ab *nahī vacṣ caramāṇi cautā. vāsiṣṭhah parimāṇsate* 'V. shall never disrespect even the least (important one) of you': VII 93.6c *nū cid dhi parimanuāthe asmān* 'Ye two indeed have never disrespected us'.

Moreover, the same contrast between *man* 'respect' and *pāri man* 'disrespect' is also seen in *aog* 'assert' and *pāri aog* 'contradict'. This latter combination clearly with negative value in 43.12h *aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairyaoyzā* 'Moreover, thou hast never contradicted me in disobedience'. Sense follows that of Ved. *pāri vad* 'revile, contradict' in KauṣBr. 6.4 (end) *tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti* 'His rule is: One should not contradict a Brahman'.

Since we have *pāri man* and *pāri aog*, we should also expect *pāri vṛz* 'to counteract', and this combination clearly occurs at Vr. 15.1: ... *hvarṣtanqm śyaoθnanqm varəzāi ... pairi ... dužvarṣtanqm śyaoθnanqm varəzāi* 'for the realization of well done actions, ... for the counteraction of badly done actions'. This group of roots *man*, *aog* and *vṛz* is thus fully attested with the preverb *pāri* functioning negatively or pejoratively. And this special use of *pāri* is an aid in interpreting the difficult *pāri dā* at 46.1b. Since the flg. lines cd state that neither the community nor the leaders of the lands have satisfied Zarathustra, it is also clear that 46.1b *pāri xʰaētāuš airyanamanascā dadaiti* must contain a parallel statement. Thus I translate: 'They exclude me from my family and from my clan', and I see *pāri dā* 'exclude' to be the opposite of med. *dā* 'accept, receive', which is discussed at 29.8 *hvō ... vaštī*.

*vayhāu vīdātā raṇayā* 'when the distribution in the good shall occur for both factions'. The phrase is loc. abs.; other exx. of this construction appear in the Gāthās at 33.11c *ādāi kahyācīṭ paitī* 'when any requital occurs', 48.4d *θwahnī xratā* 'when Thy will be done', 49.9d *yāhī* 'when the retribution comes', 50.1d *azdā zūtā* 'when my summoning really occurs', 53.7b *būnōi haxtayā* 'while your legs are still on the ground'.

31.20. Verses 20 and 21 are *maqθras*. This is made apparent by the absence of voc. *ahurā mazdā* appearing in the surrounding verses 19 and 22, and also by the context involved. When vs. 19 begins with the statement 'The one who has respected the truth has listened (to your precepts and orders)' and vs. 22 likewise commences with the expression 'These things are clear to the beneficent man', then the precepts and orders (instructions) are precisely the material covered in vss. 20 and 21. Speaker must be envisaged as AhM. himself, but with Zarathustra relating back to his Lord information which had been passed over to him on a previous occasion.

*yā āyaṭ aśavanam* 'who shall come to a truthful man'. Here, it seems, we must supply some word such as 'for instruction'. I relate this with the idea of 30.1a *vaṁxšyā iśantō* 'I shall speak to those seeking (to know)', for the phrase in 31.20a seems to express the notion that if a man chooses sides with the truthful, he shall ultimately reach salvation through his right knowledge. Intended to contrast with the false conception (*daēnā*) of the deceitful expressed in the final line.

*divanuəm* is, with A.-W. (1911, 31), a mistake for orig. *\*dyumuəm*, the equiv. of Ved. *dyumna-* 'heavenliness'. However, I do not explain the form arising from false vocalization but rather from the replacement of *-nna-* by more common *-anna-* during an earlier redaction of the text, with resulting *\*dyuvannam* written *divanuəm*. Cf. *mainivā* < *\*mainyuvā* and introd. p. 13 ff.

*aparām xšayō* 'final possession'. *xšayō* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>3</sub>) can only be the correct reading, since this word belongs to *xšā* 'possess'. Its formation is founded upon the pres. stem *xšay-a-* in analogy to the type *raoc-ah-*: *\*raoc-a-iē*, *rād-ah-*: *\*rād-a-ti*, which accounts for the segmentation *xšay-ah-*. When a root in final *-ā* built an athem. pres., then the related *-ah-* stem appeared as disyllabic *-āh-* (= *-aah-*): e.g. *yāh-*: *\*yāti* 'requisites' (cf. 30.2), *hudāh-*: *\*dadāti*, Ved. *bhās-*: *bhāti*, etc.

*šyaoθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēsaṭ* '(your) conception together with its corresponding actions shall lead ...'. *šyaoθanāiš x'āiš* is comit. instr. with *daēnā*. Syntax similar to 44.1e *yaθā nā ā volū jimaṭ monayhā* 'so

that it (= truth) shall come to us together with good thinking': 46.10e *frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō frā pərəiūm* 'I shall cross the Bridge of the Judge together with these'; etc., all usually with a verb of motion.

*daēnā* constantly stands for *\*dayanā* in the Gāthās and represents the reworking of Midlr. *dēn* into the redaction of the text. The word signifies 'vision, conception' and thus continues the value of its underlying stative root *dī* 'view, consider', with which it is employed etymologically at 44.10hd *taṇi daēnaṇ ... daidyai* (orig. *\*didyai*) 'have they seen that vision ...?' (cf. Nyberg 1938, 114 ff.). Later, of course, the meaning develops into 'religion', but for the Gāthās, however, its usage is often close to that of Ved. *dhi-* 'vision, thought', on which cf. Gonda (1963, 68 ff.). In the Gāthās the expression *vaṇhū daēnā* 'the good vision' refers to a world governed by *xšaθrām vohū manayhā ašācā* 'the rule of good thinking and truth', which is discussed at 30.7. Related terms to this concept are signaled at 28.11 *ayhuš paouruṇyō* 'the foremost existence'.

31.21. *haurvatō amərətātascā / būrōiš ā ašaliyācā x'āpaiθyā xšaθrahyā* 'In consequence of His abounding authority of rule over completeness and immortality and over truth ...'. The 3 gens. *haurvatō*, *amərətātascā* and *ašaliyācā* are dependent upon *xšaθrahyā*, since *x ... yēā ... zcā* (or *xcā ... yēā ... zcā*) is the only correct way to coordinate equal terms in the language of the Gāthās. Cf. 32.3ah *akāt manayhō stā ciθrām ... drūjascā pairi.mətōišcā* 'Ye are the seed stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect'; 32.10 *yā aogadā, yascā dadāi, yascā vivāpaṭ, yascā vōiždat*; 33.10ab *yā zi āyharō yāscā hantī yāscā ... hvaini*; 33.11ab *yā ... mazdāscā ārmaitiścā ašāmcā ... manascā vohū xšaθramcā*; etc. Thus the sequence of terms is identical to that of 34.1ab *yā yasnā amərətātātām / ašāmcā taihyō dāghā mazdā xšaθramcā haurvatātō* 'Through which worship Thou, Wise One, hast received for Thyself immortality, truth and rule over completeness', where *xšaθrām* is employed only with the final member of the 3 terms because a gen. *ašaliyācā* would not fit the meter in the passage. Both passages are related moreover, for only once having acquired these principles which characterize his godliness, can AhM. grant good thinking to the faithful, as befits his total mastery over everything.

*būrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyā* shows typical use of ablative, with or without *ā*, to express result. Syntactic parallels in 33.6b *ahmā! avā manayhā yā ... manā* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking by which he has respected ...'; 44.10e *malīyā cistōiš \*θwā.ištīš usān*

*mazdā* 'In consequence of my understanding, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One'; 45.9e *vayhēuš ašā haozqθwāṭ ā manayhō* 'in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth'. Cf. also Ved. type RV. VII 89.5d *mā nas tāsmād énaśo deva rīriṣaḥ* 'God, do not harm us in consequence of this offense', etc.

*sarō vayhēuš vazdvarā manayhō* 'the permanence of good thinking's alliance'. The parallels 32.2a *sārəmnō vohū manayhā* 'being allied with good thinking', 49.3c *vayhēuš sarō izyā manayhō* 'I am eager for the alliance of good thinking', 49.5b *yā daēnəm vohū sārəštā manayhā* 'who allied his conception with good thinking', etc. show that *vayhēuš manayhō* must also be dependent upon the gen. *sarō* here in 31.21. Thus *vazdvarā* 'permanence' governs the preceding gen. *sarō*. Note the structural parallelism of earlier dependent gens. *ašāhyācā ... xšaθrahya* with *sarō vayhēuš ... manayhō*.

*yā hōi mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō* 'who is his ally in spirit and actions'. Syntactic use of the instr. similar to 44.2de *hvō zī ... mainyū ahīm.biš urvaθō* 'for that man is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit', to the fig. *xšaθrā mazdā* 'wise by his rule' discussed at 47.1, and to 51.5b *šyaoθanāiš ərašvō* 'lofty in his actions'.

31.22. *ciθrā ī hudāhē yaθanā vaēdāmnāi manayhā vohū* 'These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking'. *ciθrā ī* refers back to the precepts embodied in vss. 20 and 21; cf. disc. at 31.20 above. Cf. similar expression at RV. VII 104.12a *suviññānāni cikitūṣe jānāyu* 'It is of easy perception for the person who understands'.

*yaθanā* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5</sub>, M<sub>1</sub>), metr. \**yaθnā*, seems to me best combined with Skt. *yatna-* 'effort'. Meaning also valid at 43.10d *parštām zī θvā yaθanā taṭ əmavatqm* 'for what is counseled through thy effort, that belongs to the powerful'. The instr. *manayhā vohū* qualifies preceding *yaθanā* in the sense 'the effort in harmony with (in alliance with) good thinking'; cf. 32.2 for full disc.

*vaēdāmnāi* acts as suppletive part. to med. *dā* 'receive, accept' (cf. 28.5) and clearly appears in that function here. To my mind, Zarathustra expresses the notion here that these precepts of the lord are clear to the man who accepts them not only as doctrine, but who also brings them to realization through his good actions. Thus I interpret *yaθanā* as a comit. instr. dependent upon a suppressed *ī*, and see this figure to be fully parallel to the flg. *vohū ... racayhā šyaoθanācā haptī* 'he serves with good word and good deed', where word and action appear in their usual juxtaposition. For fuller disc., cf. 48.12.

*xšaθrā* 'during his rule' is instr. of temporal extent: for parallels, cf. 30.7 *ayaṇhā ādānāiš*.

*vāzištō aṇhauī astiš* 'He shall be the most welcome guest'. *vāzištō* is uncertain. Translation merely follows the context.

## Yasna 32

The dominant theme of this lyric is the condemnation of the ways of deceit and of sin. Turning to the most notorious of sinners, Zarathustra first addresses the old gods in the first 5 verses and reminds them of their great failings. By stressing from the outset in verses 1 and 2 that the prophet's society, namely, the whole community of the truthful, begged to serve the means of the Wise Lord, who indeed did accept their devotion and piety, the prophet clearly discloses to the opposing gods their fatal mistake of not also having wished to seek the honor and favor of the Wise One. Similarly, in his characterization of the Wise Lord as the ally of good thinking and the companion of truth, Zarathustra thus prepares the proper focus of transition to then damn the gods in verse 3 as the offspring of evil thinking, deceit and disrespect, of those values which are antithetical to the nature of the one true lord. The prophet then further censures the gods for their hateful actions, undoubtedly motivated by their perverse origins, and for their encouragement of equally evil actions in those who pay service to them. This last wicked activity is likewise a damnable offense, for as the forces of the gods' worshipers increase, these men are driven away from the principles of truth and good thinking, from the very essence of the Wise Lord. Thus in verse 5 the prophet seals the fate of all the deceitful in disclosing to the gods that their deceitful ways have gained nothing but a vile and insidious fame among these lands. Rather, they have lost the possibility to attain a good existence and immortality, and they have been marked for damnation by the true lord.

This evokes the notion by contrast that there indeed exists a possibility to reach a good form of existence, immortality, salvation and enduring good fame. Therefore Zarathustra turns in verse 6 to the Wise One who, by his rule of truth and good thinking, has offered to mankind the means of attaining these desirable conditions, and the prophet affirms to his lord that it is the enactment of good thinking in this very world — never the institution of sin — which is the only fitting way for the devoted and pious man to render true service and true fame to the god of truth. The man who understands this and therefore acts with justice and honesty, the next verse continues, shall never be judged guilty of any offense, for which the Wise One also controls the methods and means of punishment at the end.

Verses 8-14 then investigate in detail the uselessness of sin, its various manifestations in this world, and the unfortunate consequences to which it has brought those entrapped by its toils. Beginning with Yama the first mortal (8) and concentrating on the current evil rulers (11) and evil priests (12, 14) who have fallen into the corrupting influence of the evil spirit (9), Zarathustra laments to his lord how these sinners have missed the mark of truth either by their weakness (Yama's fault undoubtedly) or by their insatiable greed and lust for riches, which have driven them to follow the ways of deceit and to oppose the ways of truth and its followers. Punctuating these denunciations with the knowledge that the Wise Lord has indeed damned these sinners, Zarathustra now states in verses 15 and 16 that hell shall be for these sinners but heaven for those who abide in the Wise Lord's enduring values. The pointed reference in verse 15 to the Karpans and the Kavis, the deceitful priests and rulers who continue to serve the old gods, has two purposes. First, to link their condemnation here with the condemnation of those they serve appearing in the beginning of the hymn. Second, by mentioning that these adherents of the deceitful world are now disappearing, the prophet intends to disclose to his lord that the creatures who belong to the world of truth are growing strong in their turn. This provides the transition to the final verse, which entreats the Wise One to offer further support to the just and worthy men of this world.

32.1. *ahyā daēvā. daēvā* can only be voc. here, since it is clear from vss. 3-5 that Zarathustra is addressing the *daēvas* and recalling to them the wrong choice which they made (30.6). The *daēvas* never sought to serve AhM., only the evil spirit, and this was their great offense and the first ruin of the world. *ahyā* is thus a stylistic repetition in anticipation of the flg. *ahurahyā*: cf. 28.1a *ahyā ... rafəδrahyā* with the same technique.

*mahmī manōi* 'at my insistence' is uncertain. I derive *manōi* from *man* 'remain' as a tentative guess. This figure might also mean 'in respect for me', with the special sense of *man* discussed at 31.19 *manūā*.

32.2. *sārəmnō vohū manayhā ... ašā huš.haxā* '(who) is allied with good thinking and the good companion (comrade) with (= of) truth'. Closest parallel of content: 44.9e *hadəmnōi ašā vohucā šyqs manayhā* 'as He continues to dwell in His seat in alliance with truth and good thinking'.

The notion 'to be allied with' is expressed by the med. pres. of the root *sar* accompanied by the instr.: cf. *sārəmnō vohū manayhā* here and



51.3a *ā vā gōuš.ā hām.yantū yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārāntē* 'Those who (already) are allied with you by their actions, let them (also) join with their ears'. The trans. notion to this is expressed by the aor. stem *sārās-* in 49.5b *yā daēnqm volū sārāštā manayhā* 'who allied his conception with good thinking'; but note only when the subject performs this action on his own behalf. When a different subject performs the act for another person, the trans. notion is expressed by the idiom *sarəm dā* 'to give the alliance of'. Thus 49.8ab *fārašaoštrāi ... ašahyā dā sarəm* 'Grant to F. the alliance of truth', 53.3c *ašahyā mazdāscā taibyō dā sarəm* 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and wisdom', also 31.21 *dadāi ... sarō vaṇhōuš vazdvarē manayhō*. Similarly, once with *ham aibi mit* at 46.12d *aṭ iṣ volū hām.aibi.mōist manayhā* 'Therefore did He unite them with good thinking', again with different persons involved.

The notion in the present system corresponding to 49.5b *yā daēnqm volū sārāštā manayhā* appears with *hacaitē* in 48.4bc *hvō daēnqm šyaoθanācā vacayhācā ... hacaitē* 'he follows (allies) his conception with the action and the word ...' and 48.12bc *yōi xšnēm (\*xšnqm) ... hacāntē šyaoθanāiš* 'who follow their knowledge with actions ...'. Here the speaker acts on his own behalf again. Yet, *hacaitē* is also employed intransitively like the pres. stem *sāra-* in the sense 'be in companionship, alliance or harmony with'. Cf. 46.16c *yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where piety is in harmony (alliance) with truth'; 34.2b *yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē* 'whose soul is in harmony (alliance) with truth', etc.

Most important of all, however, is that the notions embodied by the intrans. uses of *sar* and *hac* can be expressed simply with the instr., without any use of a verb form. This is proved by the existence of parallel expressions appearing once with a verb, other times without. Thus, 33.3ab *yā ašāunē vahištō x'aētū vā ... airyanmā vā* 'who is very good to a truthful man, be he allied by family or by clan ...' belongs with 46.1c *yā vərəzēnā \*hōhōcā* 'the community with which I have associated (been allied)' (intrans. act. perf.). Similarly, 33.13c *frō ... ašā daēnā daxšayā* 'reveal those conceptions allied (in harmony) with truth' belongs with 44.10c *yā (= daēnā) mōi gaēθā ašā frādōi hacāmnā ...* 'which conception, in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures'.

Most freq. usage occurs with instr. *ašā* (as above), very often in conjunction with *volū manayhā*. Best attested is the combination *xšaθram volū manayhā ašācā* 'the rule in alliance with good thinking and truth', discussed at 30.7. Also common is qualification of words

and deeds by *ašā* and *vohū manayhā*. Cf. 34.15ab *vahištā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā tā tū vohū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell the best words and deeds, those allied with good thinking and truth'; 33.14c *šyaoθanahyā ašā ... uxδahyācā*; 48.12bc *vohū manayhā ... šyaoθanāiš ašā*; 31.22ab *yaθanā ... manayhā vohū* 'the effort in harmony with good thinking'. Elliptical: 46.9de *yā tōi ašā ... išanti mā tā tōi vohū manayhā* 'They indeed seek after those things of Thine which are allied with truth and those allied with good thinking'. Similarly related are 44.8d *yācā ašā aṅhāuš arām vaēdyā* 'and which are to be correctly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth' and 44.15b *yezi ahyā ašā pōi mat xšayehi* 'if Thou hast the mastery to protect this world allied with truth ...'. Also their variant 43.6c *gaēθā ašā* 'creatures allied with truth' (also 44.10c) = 31.1b *ašahyā gaēθā* 'the creatures of truth'.

Here also belong 32.5c *akā šyaoθanām vacayhā* 'your action is allied with evil word' and 33.6b *ahmūi avā manayhā yā ...* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (sort of) thinking by reason of which ...'. The flg. 3 exx. show a special usage: 49.10c *nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ižācā* 'and reverence with which are allied piety and worship'; 51.11b *kā spānā ārmaitiš* 'with whom is virtuous piety allied?'; 51.20b *uxδā yāiš ārmaitiš* '(we shall offer) words with which piety is allied'. Thus 46.14c *aṭ hvō kavā vištāspō yāhi* requires the emendation \**yā* \**ahi* 'It is Kavi V., with whom thou art allied'.

Note RīgV. use of *sacate* is related to employment of *hacaitē*. Cf. I 145.2cd *nā mryxvate prathamāni nāparani vaca. asyā krātvā sacate āpruḍpitah* 'The unarrogant man does not overlook this one's first word, nor his last. He is in harmony (allied) with this one's will'; I 152.1cd *āvātīratam āntāni višva. ʔtēna mītrāvaruṇā sacethe* 'Ye have defeated all lies. Ye two are in alliance with truth, Mitra and Varuṇa'. With ellipsis, I 101.11b *vayām indreṇa samyāma vājam* 'In alliance with Indra, may we win the contest'; II 27.8c *ʔtēnādītyā māhi vo mahitvām* 'Ādityas, your very great greatness is allied with truth'; IV 42.4c *ʔtēna putrō āditer ʔtāvā* 'The truthful son of Aditi is allied with truth'; etc., with the last two exx. close to Gāthic use of *ašā*.

The type *ašā huš.haxā* reoccurs in 46.13e *ašā ... huš.haxāim* and 50.6b *urvaθō ašā*. RV. has parallel X 31.1c *tébhīr vayāṃ suṣakhāyo bhavema*, I 173.9a *āsāma yāthā suṣakhāya ena* (= *indreṇa*). Dat. in X 91.1d *suṣākhā sakhīyaté*.

32.3. *akāi manayhō stā ciθram ... drūjasā pairi.matōišcā* 'Ye are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect'.

Antithesis to 33.6a *yā zaotā ašā ərəzuš hvō mainyāuš ā vahištā kayā* 'The priest who is just in harmony with truth is the offspring stemming from the very best spirit'. Related also : 51.10b *hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš* 'The one (different from us) is the son of deceit's creator'. Note that the use of *cā* in the phrase *yascā vā maš yazaitē* connects its subject *yas* with the antecedent subject *yūš*. The following abls. *drūjascā pairi.matōišcā* are thus properly coordinated with preceding *akā! manajhō*; cf. 31.21 for disc. On the meaning of *pairi.matōiš*, cf. 31.19.

*šyaomqm aipī daibitānā yāiš \*ā \*srūdūm* (Mss. *asrūdūm*) *būmyā haptaiθē* 'Hateful, too, are your actions, by reason of which ye have become renowned in this seventh part of the earth'. On *šyaomqm*, cf. 29.10 *rāmymcā*. *aipī* is the equiv. of Ved. *āpi* 'also, as well', which is employed in exactly the same syntactic function. Cf. AV. XII 1.25 f *ténāsmāṇi āpi sām syja* 'Join us too with that', etc.

*daibitānā*, metrically *\*dbi-*, belongs to the root *dvi* 'hate, be inimical', appearing also in the adj. *dvaēθa-* 'inimical' 32.16b below, 48.9b (both times in the fixed formula *āiθiš dvaēθā* 'inimical threat'). Root *dvi* is related to more common root *dviš* 'id.' exactly as the root *θwi* 'dread, arouse dread', appearing in *\*θwōyahi* 34.11, *upā.θwayeiti* Vyt. 27, *θwayahvant-* 'dreadful' Yt. 13.20, is related to the root *θwiš* 'id.', which occurs in *θwaēšahi-* 'dread' Y. 57.18 etc.. Ved. *tveṣā-* 'dread-arousing, terrorizing'.

Emendation of *yāiš asrūdūm* to *yāiš \*ā \*srūdūm* is required in view of the flg. passages : 28.11c *yāiš ā aṇluš paouruyō bavaṭ*, 32.15a below *anāiš ā vi.nānāsā yā karapō.tā(scā)* 'By reason of these things the class of Kurpuns is disappearing', 34.11c *tāiš ā ... \*vidvaēsām \*θwōyahi* 'By reason of these things Thou dost terrorize the enemy'. Related also : 53.6d *anāiš ā ... mərəngəduyē* and 53.8a *anāiš ā ... hāntū*. Similarly. 46.4c *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ahāmūstō* requires the emendation *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš \*ā \*hāmūstō* (q.v.). Cf. introd. p. 11.

32.4. *yāaṭ yūštā framimaθā yā mašyā acištā dantō vaxšantē daēvō.zuštā* 'Insofar as ye authorize those (hateful actions), which the worst mortals (then) serve, those agreeable to the gods shall increase'. Intended contrast to 48.3ab *aṭ vaēdānmāi (= ašānmē) vahištā sānanqm yqm hudā sāsti ašā ahnrō* 'Yes, for the (truthful man) who accepts this there applies the best of orders which the beneficent Lord orders through truth'. Antitheses are *daēvā framimaθā : hudā sāsti ahnrō*; *mašyā acištā : vaēdānmāi (= ašānmē)*.

The prons. *tā ... yā* resume the previously mentioned *šyaomqm daibi-*

*iānā* of vs. 3c. *framimāθā* can only be for *\*framimāθā*, with necessary full-grade restoration of root-syllable: cf. 29.5 *dvaiddi* and SI. (1971, 573 ff.). A short-vowel subj. interpretation seems unlikely because of the context here which involves a continual action.

Important is the fact that *yā mašyā acištā dantō ... daēvō.zuštā* cannot be separated from 49.4d *tōi daēvāng dan yā drəgvatō daēnā* 'They have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person'. Furthermore, these passages belong both semantically and morphologically to contrasting 51.5ab *yaθā ašāi hacā gəm \*vīckī* (Mss. *vidai*) *vāstryō* '... how the pastor shall serve the cow in accord with truth' and 33.3b *vidas θwaxšayhā gavōi* 'or the one serving the cow (= the good vision) with zeal', both related to 29.2b *vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō* 'cow-caring zeal by a pastor'. The above-cited 51.5ab also notably contrasts with the flg. vs. 51.6bc *aī ahmāi akāi ašyō yā hōi* (= *ahurāi*) *nōi vidāiti* 'But worse than bad shall be for the person who shall not serve Him', and it is apparent that Zarathustra intends an opposition throughout the Gāthās of the *drəgvant-* *yā daēvāng vidaiti* and of the *ašāvan-* *yā gəm/gavōi* (or *ahurāi*) *vidaiti*. This last notion is unequivocally stated at 53.2d *\*dāyjhē* (Mss. *dāyjhō*) ... *yəm daēuqm ahurō saōšyantō dadāi* '... to serve that conception which the Lord granted His savior', with the correct identification of *gəm* = *vaṇuhm daēuqm*; cf. Y. 29 introd.

The remaining passages of *vidaiti* also undoubtedly express the notion of 'serve' and are construed with the dative: 32.6c below *θwahmi vā maizdā xšaθrōi ašāicā sōughō vidqm* 'Under Thy rule, Wise One, fame is to serve Thee and the truth'; 43.9c *kahmāi vividyē vaši* 'Whom dost thou wish to serve?'; 53.4ab *yā fədrōi vidai paiθyaēcā* ... 'she who shall serve father and husband ...'. In 51.18b we should also supply a suppressed *tōi* referring to AhM.: *ašā vərəntē taī xšaθrəm manayhō vaṇhōuš vidō* 'He chooses the rule of good thinking allied with truth in order to serve (Thee)'.

To the same concept I also ascribe *vidiśā-* 'service', which constantly appears in association with *frārāiti-* 'generosity' at Y. 55.3, 58.4, Vr. 21.3, etc. The function of this dual combination *frārāiti vidiśe* 'generosity and service' is clearly defined at Y. 11.18 *fəṛā vā rāhi aməšā spantā yasnamcā vahnamcā fəṛā manayhā fəṛā vacayhā fəṛā šyaoθanā* ... 'I have granted to you, virtuous immortals, worship and glory by thought, word and action', where *yasnamcā vahnamcā* are a paraphrase of the usual *vidiśā-*. In this light, I therefore see *vīdiśā-* to be the equiv. of Ved. *vidātha-* (older *\*vidh-ātha-*) 'service', and explain its formation as *\*vidh-iśā-*, with the suffix *-iśā-* likewise

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appearing in the Ved. cultic term *man-iṣā-* 'wisdom, devotion'. That Zarathustra also knew *vīdišā-* is apparent from the denom. part. *vīdišamna-* encountered at 51.1b *vīdišamnāi ižācī* 'to the person serving with milk indeed', where the word similarly occurs in a cultic context.

Surveying the attested forms in Avestan, viz. them. stem *vid-a-*, inf. *vīviduyē* (from *\*vīvidvōi*), inf. *vidqm* (type *ūcqm*), *vid-išā-*, I see little choice but to posit an Indoir. root *\*vidh* 'serve, honor', which also adequately accounts for the Ved. forms: verbal stem *vidh-ā-* and deriv. *vid-ātha-*. The 2 exx. of *dantō* 32.4 and *dqm* 49.4 are thus best explained as resulting from the false segmentation of the pres. stem *\*vidati* as *\*vi-dati* under the influence of *dāyah-* 'care, attention' (= Ved. *dhāyas-*), which was absorbed into the semantic sphere of Gāthic *vid* 'serve'. This same freeing of *vi-* also accounts for its use in the inf. *vī-vīduyē*, a form which in no way can be built from a redup. stem. For an analogous process in Vedic, cf. the root *rapś* falsely abstracted from an older denom. *\*virapś(v)a-*, so elegantly explained by Bloomfield (1909, 192 ff.).

Thus we are forced to reject K. Hoffmann's suggestion (1969, 1 ff.) that the Indoir. root *\*vidh* is derived from *vī dhā* 'distribute'. The use of the part. *vidys* and freq. Ved. *vidhant-* speaks against such a derivation, and the common Ved. opt. *vidhema* can only belong to a them. pres. *vidhāti* of the type *viśāti* 'enters', *spjāti* 'frees', etc. Cf. SI. 1968b, 324 fn 20.

*vayhīdūš siždyaumā manayhō mazdā ahurahyā xratōuš nasyantō ašāaṣcā* 'as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and truth'. On the use of the pres. parts., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frinamā*. The idea expressed in lines bc contrasts with 28.5ab *ašā kaṣ θvā darasāmi manascā rohu vaeḍamno gātūmcā ahurāi* 'Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord?'. Thus clearly the idea that the man who serves the lord through the ways of good thinking shall approach his god and the truth; but those who serve the damned gods move farther and farther away from the ways of wisdom and truth, since their gods have allied themselves with the ways of deceit. Cf. Add. to 29.7.

32.5. *tā dābānuotā mašim ... hyaṣ vā akā manayhā ydug daēvōng akascā mainyuš* 'In this way ye have deceived mankind, much as ye have deceived yourselves, the gods, by (such) evil thinking, and the evil spirit (himself)'. Humbach is correct to supply *dābānuotā* again in the *hyaṣ* clause, but neither he nor anyone else has seen that *akascā*

*manuś* must be a subject parallel to the implicit *yūš* of the verbal form. Zarathustra simply states here that the *daēvas* have cheated the man who serves their wonts (cf. 32.3b *yascā vā maš yazaitē*, 32.4a *mašyā aciśiā dantō*), they have also cheated themselves, and the evil spirit himself, out of the good way of life and immortality through evil thinking, the characteristic quality of deceit. This is thus antithesis to the notion of 34.12-13, which expresses the idea that only by good thinking can a person reach the ultimate good. On the use of *hyaŋ* 'much as', cf. 34.8b *hyaŋ \*aš.aojā nāidyāgham* 'much as a very strong man (frightens) a weaker person'.

*akā šyaoθauəm vacayhā yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō* 'Your action is allied with evil word, by reason of which the Ruler has marked the deceitful person'. Syntax similar to contrasting 33.6b *ahmāŋ avā manayhā yā vərəzycōdyāi mantā vāstryā* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking, by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties'. On this use of the instr. cf. 32.2 above.

*fracinas* certainly must mean more than 'discerned' in this passage. In that AhM. is characterized as all-seeing at 45.4e *nōiŋ dūwzaidyāi vīspā.hišas ahurō* 'The all-seeing Lord is not to be deceived', etc., it is certain that he is easily able to distinguish the deceitful people from the truthful ones. I therefore prefer to combine *fracinas* here with Ved. *praketā-* 'sign, mark', and to understand that Zarathustra intends to say here that AhM. has marked the deceitful for destruction. Same use of *prā cit* also occurs in RV. IX 97.13cd ... *vagnīr ā śṛjva ājān, pracetāyām arṣati vācam éntām* 'His voice is heard in this competition. Marking his speech now (with eloquence), he rushes (to victory)'. Here, too, one must note that the use of *vi ci* cannot mean 'distinguish' at 46.17d for the reasons stated above pertaining to *fra cit*. Rather, it must have the technical sense 'judge', which also appears in *vīcira-* 'juridically decisive' 29.4, *vīciθa-* 'j. decision' 32.8, etc. Thus I interpret 46.17d *yā vīcīnaoŋ dāθamcā adāθamcā* as 'who has judged both the just and the unjust man', which again refers to the future lot of the truthful and the deceitful. The ideas *yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō* and *yā vīcīnaoŋ dāθamcā adāθamcā* thus belong together in my view.

32.6. After addressing the *daēvas* in the first 5 vss., Zarathustra now turns to AhM. with the remaining 11 vss. (voc. *ahurā* or *mazdā* 6-9, 11, 13, 16).

*pourū aēnā ānāxštā yāiš srāvahyeiti* 'Shameful are the many sins by

which one attains fame'. I cannot follow Humbach (1959, II 34), who ascribes *ānāxštā* here to yAv. *anāxšti-*, for that word means 'war', not 'violation (of laws)', as he asserts. Cf. Yt. 10.29 *tūm āxštōiš anāxštōišcā mīθra \*xšayehi dahiyunqm* 'M., thou dost control the peace and war of the lands', etc. Rather, I take *ānāxštā* as nom. pl. neut. from the past part. *āxšta-* of *ā kas* (cf. Ved. type *a-gdhā-* 'uneaten' from *ghas*), and see the word used in the same meaning as the cognate Ved. *ā khyā* 'to relate'. However, the sense of neg. *\*an-āxšta-* is 'unrecountable' > 'shameful', and thus can be directly compared with Ved. *a-vadyā-* 'untellable' > 'disgraceful' and yAv. *ahqaxšta-* 'uncountable' from *ham kas* (not *xšā*).

*yezi tāiš aθā* has only one possible translation: 'if, in this way, by such (sins)'. The point is, Zarathustra doubts that it is at all possible to attain fame by the execution of many, unspeakable offenses, and the following lines contain the notion, by contrast, that there is only one way for fame (*sānghō* here) to be meaningful in this world.

*hātā.marānē valīštā vōistā manayhā*. This must contain the antithesis to the preceding idea of seeking fame through sinning. Consequently, by revision we have *\*hātqm \*arānē valīštā manayhā* 'in the uplifting of beings with the very best thinking'. The phrase therefore belongs directly with 28.4a *yō urvaqm \*mōng \*airē volū dadē haθrā manayhā* 'I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking', where further parallels are given. The form *hātā.marāniš* in Yt. 1.8 simply results from the false interpretation of the orig. *\*hātqm \*aranē* as a voc. with *vōistā* (type 33.7a *ā idīm valīštā*, 33.12a *us mōi ārāšvā ahurā*, etc.), and has no worth with regard to the real meaning of current passage.

*θvalmū vō mazdā xšaθrōi ašāicā sānghō vidqm* 'fame is to serve Thee and the truth, Wise One, under Thy rule'. On syntax, cf. 28.3 *aθ vā ašā ūfyāni* etc. On the meaning of *vidqm*, cf. *dantō* in 32.4 above. This verse essentially states that there is no fame through sin; only by the utilization of the best thinking can one truly bring fame or merit to god and his sovereignty, and to the values which he represents.

32.7. This verse and the next one continue the motif of sin and offense. Humbach's realization (1957b, 364 ff.) that *srāvi* 'was heard' and *vicīθōi* 'in decision' are employed as legalistic terms 'was tried' and 'in juridical decision' (also possibly *x'ārānmō* 'swearing') has been an important contribution to the understanding of these verses. However, he did not follow this lead to its conclusion, for most other words

of vss. 7 and 8 are also used in legal terminology. Viz. *aog* 'assert' is 'accuse'. *jōya-* (orig. *\*jīrya-*) 'concerning one's life' is 'capital'. *sanh* 'declare' is 'decree'. *rixta-* 'what remains' is 'consequence, sentence'. *ah* with gen. is 'be guilty of'.

*aēšqm aēnahm naēcīl vidvā aōjōi hādrōyā* 'By reason of his correct conduct, a knowing person is never accused of those sins'. The form *aōjōi* is 3sg. pres. of *aog* (not 1sg.), corresponding to the Ved. type *śāye* 'lies', *stāve* 'is praised', etc. (cf. SI. 1972a. 62 fn 2). For its technical meaning here, cf. also *apyūhē* in RV. VII 104.14ab *ṛādi vāhām āṇṭadeva āsa. mōgham vā devām apyūhē agne* 'Agni, if I have either been a person of false gods, or if I have wrongly accused (our) gods ...'. Note that the Rgṣ. verse appears in the context of oath-swearing, closely related to juridical practices.

*hādrōyā* I take as a mistake for orig. *\*hādrāyā*, whose vocalism, like that of following *jōyā*, has been influenced by *aōjōi* in the course of the recitation of the Gāthās: cf. introd. p. 5ff. for the principle. The form is instr. of a stem *hādrāya-* 'correct conduct', a empd. of *hādra-* (-*ra-* var. of Ved. *sādhu-*) and *āya-*. Its sense comes very close to that of Ved. *sādhuṣā*.

*yā jōyā sānghaiē* 'which (offenses) are decreed to be capital'. *jōyā* replaces an earlier reading *jīyā* and is thus an orthographic var. of yAv. *jīrya-*, as A.-W. (1931, 325) recognized. But the word *jīrya-* does not refer to *ayayhā* in 32.7 here, as they maintained. Rather, it belongs with *aēnā* in the meaning *aēnā jīryā* 'offenses concerning one's life', i.e. those for which one's life is at stake. Cf. Akkad. *din napīšti* 'a case of life' used in exactly this sense.

*sānghaiē* 'are decreed': cf. 31.1 *sānghāmah* for disc. of technical uses of the root *sanh*. *rixta-* 'consequence, sentence' belongs with similarly legalistic use of *raēxnah-* 'legal inheritor' in 32.11 below, which should be consulted.

32.8. *gāuš bagā x'ārāmnō* is difficult. But if we adopt the meaning 'swear' for *x'ārāmnō* (cf. HH. 1957b, 366f.), then *gāuš bagā* can be direct discourse as appears in 32.14c below *gāuš jaidyāi mraoi* '... to say: The cow is to be killed'. Thus *bagā* must agree with *gāuš*, and I see no other possibility than to take it as fem. to common Iran. *bagō* 'divinity, god'. Therefore translate: '... swearing: The cow is goddess'. When later tradition condemns Yima for having eaten the cow, that notion can be reconciled with the current statement by attributing totemistic practices to his religious beliefs. This, in a way, is the framework behind the Vedic cultic worship of Soma. Cf. Addenda.



*aēšqmciṭ ā alimī θvahnī mazdā viciθōi aipī* 'If I, too, am guilty of these (sins), Wise One, lies in Thy judgment'. On *ali* with gen. to express 'be guilty of', cf. 31.13b *yā vā kasāuš aēnaylorō* 'or who is guilty of a small offense'. The notion 'if' here in 32.8c, without use of *yezi* or the like, corresponds to common usage of such clauses placed in line-initial position. These are collected at 49.1 *vayuhī ādā gaidī mōi*.

32.9. Motif of the next 3 verses contains a description of those people who have undermined the proper mode of existence and the offenses which they have committed.

*duš.sastiš sravā mōrandaṭ* 'The one of evil doctrine has ruined the (true) words'. *duš.sastiš* is most probably *angrō mainyuš*, with Zarathustra's typical reference to the evil spirit by epithets; cf. 31.15 *dragvāitē ... duš.šyaoθanāi* for disc. *sravā* requires *volū* or the like owing to the contrast represented by the choice of the particular term *duš.sastiš*.

*apō mā ištīm yautā bərəxdqm haitīm vayhōuš manayhō* 'He has robbed the esteemed power which belongs to good thinking'. On *apō yautā*, cf. *apayeitī* in 32.11 below. The reading *haitīm* (J<sub>2</sub>, Jp<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>) is preferable to *hāitīm*, which shows the effects of normalization after *hātqm*, likewise a form of the part. of *ah*. Thus the phrase *haitīm vayhōuš manayhō* simply is expression of belonging, which can also appear without the pres. part. in the type 28.9c *išō xšaθrāncā savayhqm* 'To mighty ones belong the powers and the mastery', etc. The intention of the line is that the power should really belong to good thinking, not to the evil spirit and deceit. Parallel in 46.16d (*idī*) *yaθrā vayhōuš manayhō ištā xšaθrām* 'Come to where the sovereignty lies in the power of good thinking'. Note also 43.4e *hvaṭ mōi vayhōuš huzō jimaṭ manayhō* '... if the force (power) of good thinking shall come to me'.

*mazdā ašūicā yūšmaihyā gərəzē*. On syntax, cf. 28.3. The use of *gərəzē* anticipates *jīgərəzaṭ* in vs. 13 below, whereby Zarathustra tries to express the well founded lament of the truthful man (i.e. the ruin of the world by the ways of deceit) in contrast to the selfish lament of the deceitful person (i.e. desire for greater riches).

32.10. *yā acīstom vaēnaylorō aogadā gqm ašibhā hvaracā* 'who has asserted the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his eyes'. *gqm* 'the cow' is a metaphor for the earth here, as freq. in the RV. In general, the expression *gqm hvaracā vaēn* 'to see the earth and the sun' means 'to continue to live', parallel to the Ved. idiom *svār dṛśē*

'to see the sun(light)', i.e. 'to live on'. Cf. the paraphrase in Y. 9.29 *mā zqm vaēuōi*, *mā qm vaēuōi*. Cf. Addenda.

*yascā dāθōng drəgvatō dadāi*. I do not believe this can mean 'who has made the just into deceitful persons', as the translators have taken it. Rather, 'who has turned the deceitful against the just': thus a shortening of *paiti dā* or the like.

32.11. *yōi drəgvantō mazbiš cikōitərəš aṇhišcā aṇhavascā* 'the deceitful lords and ladies who appear in grandeur'. Translation follows RV. I 186.9a *prā mī yād eṣām mahinā cikīre* 'now that they have appeared in their grandeur': plural *daṇsānais* also in I 166.13d *sākām nāro daṇsānair ā cikīre* 'All at once the men have appeared in (all) their wondrousness'. *maz-* can function as a root noun as well as an adj. On *aṇhišcā aṇhavascā*, cf. 29.6 *ahū*.

*apayēiti raēxənaṇhō vaēdām* 'by stealing the possession (property) of the (true) inheritor'. This description of the deceitful contrasts with the description of the truthful at 44.2de *hvō zi ... irixtəm vīspōihyō* 'hūrō mainyū cihūm.biš urvaθō mazdā' 'This person indeed, watching over the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One'.

*raēxənah-* 'inheritor' (cf. Ved. *surēkhas-* 'one of good inheritance'), *irixta-* 'heritage, inheritance' 44.2, *raēxənah-* 'inheritance, legacy' 34.7 all belong to the vocabulary of the legal sector. The difference between pl. *raēxənā* 34.7 employed as an abstr. noun and gen. *raēxənaṇhō* here used as a possessive adj. follows the practice of *rādā* 'solicitude' 28.7 vs. *rādāṇhō* 'of the one offering solicitude' 45.7, 46.17; *aēnā* 'sins, offenses' 32.6 vs. *aēnaṇhqm* 30.8; *rāzarō* 'directive' vs. *rāšnaṇ* 'of those following the directive', both 34.12. In general, the gen. forms of *-ah-*stems are possessives: *savaṇhō* 'offering salvation' 51.2, *savaṇhqm* 'mighty' 28.9. Consequently, I interpret 50.1a *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō* as 'Does my person have control over anyone who possesses help?', with *avayhō* a possessive adj. coordinated with *cahyā*.

*apayēiti ... vaēdām* is clearly 'by stealing the possession', since *apa yam* usually means 'steal'. Cf. Y. 11.5 *yō mqm taṭ draonō zināi vā trəfjyāi vā apa vā \*yasāiti* (Mss. *yāsāiti*) 'who shall sack me of my offering, or who shall rob it, or who shall steal it ...', where the 3 similar verbs *zjā*, *trp* and *apa yam* appear together. Similar meaning also in above 32.9b *apō mā īstīm yantā* 'he has robbed the power'.

*yōi vahīštāi ašaonō ... rārəšyqm manayhō* 'who deflected the truthful from the best thinking'. Corresponds to intrans. notion *vayhāuš*

*sīždyanmā manayhō* 'continuing to retreat from good thinking' in 32.4b above.

32.12. *yā rāyhayān sravayhā ... marātānō* 'By reason of that teaching with which they deflected men ...' *marātānō* is acc. pl. with *rāyhayān*, fully parallel to *ašaonō ... rārāšyqm* of the previous vs. Cf. also 30.6c, where the form is also acc. pl. The subject of *rāyhayān* is implicit *drəgvantō*, obvious from *yōi drəgvantō* of the preceding vs.

*aēibyō mazdā akā mraoī* 'the Wise One spoke of bad things for them'. *aēibyō* does not seem to be simple indirect obj. with *mrvā*, but rather dat. commodi. Similar syntax in the antithesis 47.5b *ašāunē cōiš yā zi cīcā vahištā* 'Thou hast promised for the truthful man what indeed are the very best things'. Both passages thus refer to the differing fates of the deceitful and the truthful, typified by 30.4bc *apāməm ayhuš acīštō drəgvatqm aī ašāunē vahištəm manō*, 43.5d *akām akāi vañuhīm ašīm vañhaovē*, etc. Cf. also syntax of 33.2ab *yā akəm drəgvātē ... varāšaitī*.

*yōi gāns mōrəndən urvāxs.nxtī jyōtūm* 'who have ruined by their habit of pleasure the cow's means of living'. *nxtī-* seems best combined with Ved. *ne* 'be accustomed to, in the habit of', for the intention of vss. 11-14 is the condemnation of those people who sacrificed good principles for the sake of wealth and obviously the pleasures deriving from such riches. Cf. also *amaocayhā* 44.15.

*vāiš \*grālmā* (Mss. *grālmā*) *ašāī varatā karapā xsāθrəmcā īsanqm drujīm* 'because of whom the rich Karpan chose the rule of tyrants and deceit rather than truth'. The interpretation of this line and the next 2 vss. is dependent upon *grālmā* and *grālmō*. I accept Henning's proposal (1944. 139 fn 5) that these forms are related to Sogd. *gr'myr*. Parth. *gr'mg* 'property, wealth', but I see the necessity of positing a single *-ah-* stem for the Gāthās. We have the acc. neut. *grālmā* in vss. 13 and 14 (so. Henning), and in 12 here, where the word must modify *karapā*, we must emend *grālmā* to *\*grālmā*, taking the form as nom. sg. of the adj. *grālmah-* 'rich'. The change of *\*grālmā* to *grālmā* has taken place under the influence of following *varatā* and *karapā*. On principle, cf. introd. p. 5ff.

*xsāθrəmcā īsanqm drujīm*. The placement of *cā* after the first word of a coordinated pair also appears at 33.8c *aməratāscā ... hamvātās*, 34.6c *yazəmmāscā ... stavas*, 51.14a *dātōihyasā ... vāstrāī. mazdāscā ahurāyō* (30.9b, 31.4a) is also related to this construction. *īsanqm*, metrically *\*īsnqm*, is gen. of a sec. deriv. *īš-an-* 'having power', here used perjoratively 'tyrant'.

32.13. *grāhmō hūšasaŋ acištahyā dāmānē manayhō / aghhōuš marəxtārō ahyā* 'the destroyers of this world (existence) viewed their wealth in the house of worst thinking (= hell)'. *hūšasaŋ* is hypercorrect orthographic redaction for *\*hūšaŋ* (disc. at 30.1 *ištəntō*), and the form is simply 3pl. imperf. of *hū* 'view, regard', i.e. *\*hi-š-aŋ* (3sg. *\*hi-šā-i*). Thus related to pres. part. in *višpā.hišas* 'all-viewing' 45.4; *-ra-* adj. in 31.13c *cašmāng θwisrā hārō* 'regarding with clarity of vision'. Note also that it is not accidental that the redup. forms *\*hūšaŋ jīgərəzaŋ* and *dadaŋ* (vs. 14a) all appear in neighboring lines.

*yā iš pāŋ darəsāŋ ašahyā* '(a lust) which guarded them from the sight of truth'. The rel. pron. *yā* here only makes sense if it refers back to *kāmē*, not to *θvahyā nuθrānō*, for Zarathustra is stressing the point that the sin of greed has often driven a person from the path of truth. Thus this passage belongs as well (cf. above 32.4bc *rayhōuš siždyamnā manayhō* etc.) as intentional antithesis to 28.5ab *ašā kaŋ θvā darəsāni manascā volū raēdāmnō gātūmcā ahurāi* 'Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord?'. For syntactic parallels, cf. 46.8 *yā im hujyātōiš pāyāŋ*.

32.14. *ahyā grāhmō ā.hōiθōi ni kāvayasciŋ xratūš dadaŋ / varəcā.hicā fraidivā* 'Even the Kavis have continually fixed their intentions on capturing and plundering the wealth of this world'. The pron. *ahyā* resumes *aghhōuš ... ahyā* of the preceding verse. For disc., cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc.

Both *ā.hōiθōi* and *varəcā.hicā* are parallel loc. infis. dependent upon *ni dadaŋ*. The construction is a blend of RīgV. types V 32.12d *yé tvāyā* (= loc.) *nidadhniḥ kāmam indra* 'they who have fixed their desire upon thee, Indra' and VI 15.15b *ni tvā dadhita rôdasi yájadhyai* 'May he set thee down in order to worship the two worlds'. *ā.hōiθōi* belongs to *ā hi*, which in the Gāthās has the special sense 'capture'; cf. 29.1 *ā hišāyā*. *varəcā.hi* is a redactional change from orig. *\*varəcahi*, separated in its attested way owing to the freq. occurrence of *hi* in 2nd position in the line or after caesura: cf. 30.3b *šyaoθanōi hi ...*, 31.10a *aŋ hi ...*, 44.18e *yaθā hi ...*. The underlying stem *varəcah-* (so, Bthlm. 1904. 1367) belongs together with *fraorəcinta* 'they plundered' in Yt. 17.19 *nōiŋ mqm višpe yazatāyho anusəntəm fraorəcinta, āaŋ mqm aēvō zaraθuštrō anusəntəu apayeti* 'All the worshipful ones have not plundered me if I was not willing; but Zarathustra alone (was able) to rob me if I was unwilling'. The pairing of *frā vrc* and *apa yam* in this last passage is a variant of *ā hi* and *vrc* in 32.14 here.

*fraidivā* belongs with Ved. *pradivā pradivas* 'from antiquity, continuously'.

*hyaṭ vīsāntā dragvantām avō hyaṭcā gāuš jaidyāi mraoī* 'since they have begun to aid the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*), as well as to say: The cow is to be killed'. Since Ved. *ni vīs* means 'ceases, stops', I take *vīsāntā* here to be its opposite 'enter upon, begin'. Consequently, both *avō* and *mraoī*, coordinated by *hyaṭcā* (cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyaṭcā*), are inf. dependent upon *vīsāntā*. Same syntax in Y. 8.4 *yasea ... imq vacō nōiṭ \*vīsaite framrūite* 'and who does not undertake to speak out these words ...', N. 19 *\*vīsaite dim fraṣrārayō nōiṭ fraṣrāṣrāyeiti* 'He begins to awaken him, but that one does not awaken'.

The preceding construction *gāuš bagā x'ārannō* in vs. 8b suggests that *gāuš jaidyāi mraoī* is of similar structure, and I therefore believe that *mraoī* somehow reposes on an orig. reading inf. *\*mrūyōi* (= *\*mrūvōi*). Note vars. *mraoī* (L<sub>1,2</sub>), *mraomī* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5</sub>) show further normalization of the form after *mraomī* 53.5.

*yā dūraośān saocayaṭ avō* is difficult, but still seems to be part of the direct quote, i.e. '... to be killed (for him) who has been burning the haoma ...'. *avō* is probably corrupt, and the text probably shows normalization effect of 29.9c *yā hōi dadaṭ zastavaṭ avō*, since the end of each line is similar.

32.15. *avāiš aihī yāng daintī* 'along with those whom they ensnare'. *aihī ... daintī* (for *\*dāintī*) certainly is the equiv. of Ved. *abhi dāti*, *abhi dāsati* 'ensnares'. Cf. SV. 1.336ac *yō no vanuṣyāmi abhidāti martaḥ*, *kṣidhī yudhā ... tān* 'Destroy with thy weapon that mortal who, acting with hostility, entraps us' and Narten (1963, 56 ff.).

*nōiṭ jyātōuš xšayammōug vasō tōi āhyā hairyāntē vaṣhāuš ā dāmānē manayhō* 'They shall not be brought to those who rule over life at will in the house of good thinking'. The *jyātōuš xšayammōug vasō* 'those who rule over life at will' can only be the immortal ones, who indeed dwell *vaṣhāuš dāmānē manayhō*. Therefore it is clear that *nōiṭ ... āhyā hairyāntē* is simply *nōiṭ ... \*a(i)hī \*ā hairyāntē* 'they shall not be brought to', with acc. complement (correctly, A.-W. 1913, 385). The point is, neither the Kavis nor the Karpans, nor those they ensnare with their schemes, shall be brought to heaven. Their place is in hell, as appears in vs. 13a above.

32.16. *hamtām taṭ vahištācīṭ (ahmāi) yā ...* 'This is equal to the best indeed for him who ...'. Clearly refers to last mentioned idea of reaching the seat of the immortal ones.

*yā ušuruyē syas cī dahmalyā* 'who lies (?) in the ... of the Wondrous One'. *ušuruyē* is opaque to me. I take *syas-* (for *\*siyas* or *\*sayas*) as an adj. from *si* 'lie'.

*yehyā mā aiθi.šciḡ dvaēθā* 'whose danger is inimical to me'. From Yt. 10.37 *avi dīs aēm xšayamō aiθm barāiti θwyamca* 'Being able to, he shall bring danger and terror upon them', where *aiθi-* appears besides *θwyā-*, it seems that the former term means 'threat, danger', rather than 'destruction' or the like (correctly, Humbach, Lommel 1971). Thus I take the combination *aiθiḡ dvaēθā* here and at 48.9b as 'danger inimical to ...'. Similarly, the related term *āθriḡ* in 46.8b *nōiḡ ahyā mā āθriḡ šraoθanāiḡ frōsyā!* 'May the threat (danger) caused by his actions not reach me'. The word *dvaēθa-* is discussed at 32.3 *daibitānā* above.

*ayhāyā* is contracted from orig. *\*ā-yhāya(i)yā*, 1sg. opt. of pres. *\*ā-hāyati* 'captures', from *ā hā*: cf. *ā.hōiθōi* from synonymous *ā hi* in vs. 13a above. Similar contraction in opt. *xšayā* from *\*xšaya(i)yā* 50.9: the other instances of such contraction are discussed at 28.7 *xrəimā*. Cf. also introd. p. 18f.

### Yasna 33

This lyric is direct in its approach and its theme concerns how the community of the pious and its leader Zarathustra are to best serve the ways of the Wise Lord in this world. This conduct demands that a person bring on harm to the deceitful but good to the truthful man (2-3). But its basic tenets involve care for and dedication to the good vision of an earthly existence founded upon the lordly values of truth and good thinking, as well as faithful service through worship for the Wise One who created this and offered it as a means a means of salvation to mankind (8). This shall repel the ways of deceit (4), prepare the advent of this true and good rule (5), and reassure and strengthen the enduring immortality and completeness of the Wise Lord (8, 10). Insofar as the followers of truth now realize the necessity of the enactment of these values in their own world, the lord should offer his power and support to his prophet in order to achieve these aims (11-14). Man and god can thus work for each other's mutual benefit.

33.1. *yaθā āiš iθā varəšaitē yā dātā aṇhəuš paouruuehyā ! ratuš šyaoθanā razīštā* 'As in accord with those things which are the laws of the foremost existence, the (final) judgment thus shall bring to realization the most just actions ...'. *āiš* in *yaθā āiš* is coordinated with the flg. *yā dātā aṇhəuš paouruuehyā*, and the correlative *iθā varəšaitē* syntactically belongs with *ratuš šyaoθanā razīštā*. What has occurred is that the expected sequences *yā dātā aṇhəuš paouruuehyā* and *iθā varəšaitē* (*ratuš* etc.) have been exchanged in order not to break the former, syntactically close unit across the caesura, which would have occurred if the sentence naturally ran \**yaθā āiš yā dātā ... iθā varəšaitē ratuš* etc. For the principle, cf. 28.1 *vayhəuš xratūm manahū*. Syntax is thus similar to 45.3cd *yōi im vā nōi iθā mąθrəm varəšauti yaθā im mōnāicā vuocacā* 'Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ...', where *iθā* and *yaθā* appear in reverse order. On *yā dātā aṇhəuš paouruuehyā*, cf. quote of Y. 55.6 cited at 30.11 (1st para.). I prefer var. *ratuš* J<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>.

*dragvataēcā hyaṭcā ašaonē* 'for the deceitful as well as for the truthful man'. On *cā ... hyaṭcā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatasēcā hyaṭcā*.

*yehyācā \*hōm.yasaētē* (Mss. *hōmamyāsaitē* etc.) *miθahyā yācā hōi*

*ārəzvā* 'and for the person whose falsity as well as his honesty are held to be the same (= considered indifferent)'. Klingenschmitt (1972: 84ff.) has shown that the dominant var. *hāmənīyāsaitē* should be read as *\*hām.yāsaitē* (cp. *hāmīyāsaitē* Lb<sub>2</sub> etc.), and that the form reposes on *ham yem* employed in the sense 'place as equals' (on a scale). However, owing to the fact that *miθahyā* and *yācā hōi ārəzvā* form a dual subject (cf. 28.2), I see the necessity of emending to *\*hām.yasaitē*. This change is simple in view of the vars. *pərəsaitē -āitē -aētē* 31.13, *šaētī -aētī -āitē -aitē* 33.5, 43.3, 46.16, etc., *naēšaṭ naišaṭ* 31.20, etc.: (cf. also Sl. 1971: 583). Cf. also introd. p. 18f.

33.2. *yā akām drəgvāitē ... varəšaitī* 'who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one'. *drəgvāitē* most likely refers to *angrō mainyuš* (cf. 31.15), since it stands in juxtaposition with flg. *ahurahyā mazdā*. Syntactically the form is dat. commodi; cf. parallels at 32.12b *aēihyō mazdā akā mraoṭ*.

*vaḡhāu vā cōiθaitē astīm* 'or who shall enlighten his guest in the good'. *cōiθaitē* is aor. subj. of *cit* 'appear; caus. make clear', with -θ introduced under the influence of aor. opt. *\*ciθyāṭ* and pres. *\*cinaθmi* etc. Cf. aor. subj. *niōiθaṭ* 'shall repel' 46.4 from *nūt* 'throw', with -θ similarly after opt. *hānmiθyāṭ* (*\*ham.niθyāṭ*) 53.9 and pres. *miθuāiti* Vd. 3.20. On the syntax of *cit* with acc. and loc., cf. 46.9ab *yā mā ... cōiθaṭ ... yaθā θwā zəvištīm uzəmōhi* 'who shall enlighten me in which way to respect Thee, the Strongest One', where *uzəmōhi* is loc. inf. of a stem *uzəmah-*.

The caus. value of the aor. stem follows that of the imperf. *cinas* in 44.6d *taihyō xšaθrām volū cinas manayhā* 'It has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking'. Vedic has similar syntax with *cit*, but with dat. in place of loc. Cf. RV. IV 51.3ab *uchāntīr adyā citayanta bhojām, rādhodēyāyośasaḥ ...* 'As they shine today, the dawns shall enlighten our benefactors to the granting of solicitude'. In general, the segments *yā akām drəgvāitē ... varəšaitī ... tōi vārāi rādanti* (*ahurahyā*) belong with 51.8b *hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yā ašəm dādrē* '... that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accordance with the wish of Him who has upheld the truth'.

33.3. *vidas vā θwaxšaṅhā gavōi* 'or the one continuing to serve the cow (= the good vision) with zeal'. On *vidas*, cf. 32.4 *dantiō*; on the use of the pres. part., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frīnəmū*.

*aṭ livō ašahyā aḡhaṭ vaḡhāušeā vāstrē manayhō* 'that person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Syntax discussed at



28.10 *aṭ yāng ašāaṭcā* etc. The juxtaposition of *vāstrē* with preceding *gavōi* is intentional, whereby Zarathustra tries to clearly show that the good vision (*gāuš*) depends upon the furtherance of truth and good thinking among men. In general, *vidas ... gavōi, aṭ livō ašahyā aṭhaṭ vayhāušcā vāstrē manayhō* is antithesis to 32.4bc *daēvō.zuštā vayhāuš siḏyamnā manayhō, mazdā ahuraḥyā xratōuš nasyantō ašāaṭcā* 'those pleasing to the gods ... continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth'.

33.4. The elements of vss. 4 and 5 are in antithesis to one another, as H.-P. Schmidt has clearly shown (1957, 160 ff.). Specifically *asruštīm* (and *tarōmaitīm*) contrasts with *səraošaṃ, akam manō* with *xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō*. In general, cf. Y. 60.5 *vainiṭ almi imāne sraošō asruštīm. āxštiš anāxštīm, rāitiš arōitīm, ārunaitiš tarōmaitīm aršnxdō vāxš miθaoxtām vācīm \*aša.drujām* (= gen. pl.) 'In this house may obedience defeat the disobedience of the deceivers of truth, peace their strife, charity their niggardliness, piety their disrespect, the truly spoken word their falsely spoken word'.

*airyamanaścā nadāntō* 'the scorers from the clan' recalls 32.13bc *yaēcā ... jīgəzaṭ kāmē θwalyā maθrānō dūtīm* 'and those who complained in their lust (greed) about the message of Thy prophet'.

*gāušcā vāstrāṭ acištām mantīm* 'the worst counsellor from the pasture of the cow'. The worst counsellor is most probably *angrō mainyūš*, since the term *acištō mantūš* here contrasts with *dangrō mantūš* = *ašām* in 46.17de *yā vīcīmaṭ ... dangrō mantū ašā mazdā ahurō* 'The Wise Lord who, together with truth, His clever (skillful) counsellor, has judged ...'. The word *mantīm* seems semantically close to Gk. *mantis* 'soothsayer, adviser'. The pasture of the cow here is simply used as a metaphor for the community of the faithful. Cf. remarks at 34.14b *yōi zī gāuš varəzānē azγā* 'who indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow' and 30.10 conclusion.

33.5. *yastē vīspā.mazīštām səraošaṃ zbayā* 'I who shall summon the all-greatest obedience for Thee' belongs with 28.5bc *savištāi səraošaṃ mazdāi ... mazīštām vāmōimaidī* 'May we turn the greatest obedience to the most Mighty Lord'. *avayhānē* 'at the stopping (of these things)' has been correctly explained by H.-P. Schmidt (loc. cit.) as cognate with Ved. *avasāna-* 'rest stop, stop'.

*apānō darəgō.jyāitīm ā xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō*. Comparison with 51.1c *taṭ* (= *volhū xšaθrām*) *nā mīciṭ varəzānē* 'This (good rule) shall I now bring to realization for us' and YH. 41.2 *volhū xšaθrām tōi mazdā*

*ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yavē* 'Wise Lord, may we obtain Thy good rule forever' shows that our line should be emended to *\*apā \*uō (nā) \*darəgō.jyāiti ā xšaθrām vañhāuš manayhō* 'I shall obtain for us the long-lived rule of good thinking'. Thus we have the parallels ... *nā* ... *varəšānē* and *\*apā \*uō* (also *apaēmā*), *vohū xšaθrām ... vīspāi yavē* and *\*darəgō.jyāiti xšaθrām vañhāuš manayhō*.

*apā* (orig. *\*āpā*) is 1sg. subj. perf. of *āp*: med. part. is unlikely in view of the remarks at 28.3 *aṣṣōnyammam*. *uō* is for older *nā*, which was altered after combination *apānō* occurred, since *-ā* is not usual in words of more than 2 syllables. The final *-m* of *darəgō.jyāitim* simply shows influence of surrounding *mazīštām*, *səraošām*, *xšaθrām*. For process, cf. introd. p. 51f.

33.6. *yā zaotā ašā arəzuš* 'the priest who is just in harmony with truth'. On syntax and meaning, cf. 28.1 *mainyōuš ... spəntō ašā* and 32.2.

*hō mainyōuš ā vahištā kayā* 'he is the seed (offspring) stemming from the very best spirit'. This must be the correct translation in view of the antithesis 32.3a *yāš daēvā ... akā manayhō stā ciθrām* 'Ye gods are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking'. Thus *ciθra-* and *kayā-* are related etymologically, with *kayā-* (*\*kāyā?*) probably belonging with Skt. *kāya-* 'body'. Consequently, *ciθra-* 'seed, offspring' is to be separated from *ciθra-* 'bright', for the former word is surely to be segmented as *ci-θra-*.

*ahmā avā manayhā yā vərəzreydyāi mantā vāstryā* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking, by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties'. Syntax identical to antithesis 32.5c *akā šyaoθanəm manayhā yā ...* 'Your action is allied with evil thinking, by reason of which ...'. Both are explained at 32.2. On *mantā*, cf. 31.19. Note that *vāstryā* is in a way defined by preceding *ašā arəzuš* and *avā (vohū) manayhā*, thus a paraphrase of *ašahyā ... vañhānšcā vāstrē manayhō* in 33.3c above.

*tā tōi izyā ahurā: mazdā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā* 'By reason of this very (thinking), Wise Lord, I am eager for Thy sight and Thy counsel'. *tā* refers back to preceding *avā manayhā* and *yā*; it cannot stand for *tā zaōθrā*. The voc. *ahurā mazdā* here is the only time that this figure is split across the caesura and therefore appears suspicious; cf. 28.9. Perhaps final line should be emended to *\*tā tōi ahurō mazdā: izyā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā*.

33.7. *ā mā idūm vahištā ... ašā vohū manayhā* 'Come ye to me — Thou,

Best One, together with truth and good thinking'. Syntax is discussed at 28.3 *yā vā ašā ufyānī*.

*x<sup>a</sup>aiθyācā ... darāšaṭcā* 'personally and boldly'. *x<sup>a</sup>aiθyā* is difficult, but it seems best to follow Bthlm.'s derivation (1904, 1862) from \**sva-tya-* 'in person, personal', since *x<sup>a</sup>aiθyā* would thus correspond to flg. *āviš ... hāutū*. The idea is, if AhM. will become manifest, so too will the gifts necessary for his worship.

*yā srūyē parā magaonō* 'by reason of which I am to be(come) famed before (every other) adherent'. *parā* is for *parā* by assim. to the following *mi-* (cf. freq. *frō.mā* 28.11b, *frō mōi* 33.8a etc.), and thus *magaonō* is abl. sg. (not acc. pl.), as in parallel construction in 30.2c *purā mazō yāñhō* 'before the great retribution'. Cf. also Ved. *purā* with abl. in RV. III 32.14b *stāvai purā pāryād indram āhualī* 'I shall praise Indra before the decisive day', etc. To *magaonō* we must supply *višpāt* or *anyāt*, but these words are often suppressed: cf. 28.3b *yaēibyo* (*anyaēibyo*) *xšaθrām*, 28.8c *yaēibyasā* (*anyaēibyo*), 30.11c *aipī tāiš* (*višpāiš*), etc.

In general, I find ... *yā srūyē parā magaonō* to correspond to the Ved. type represented by RV. V 1.9ab *prā sadyo agne āty eṣi anyān, āvir yāsmāi cārutamō babhūtha* 'Agni, thou goest forth at once beyond all the other (worshippers), being manifest to the one to whom thou hast become most dear'. Within the context of the Gāthās, this notion also is found at 44.11de *azām tōi āiš paouruio fravōivide / višpāng anyāng mainyāuš spasyā dvaēšayhā* 'I have been received by these (faithful) as Thy foremost (follower). Look upon all others with hostility of spirit!'. Both 33.7 here and 44.11 convince me that there were other worshippers of AhM. besides Zarathustra and his circle, and that the figure of AhM. was inherited by Zarathustra, not invented by him. Zarathustra's contribution appears to have been the full development of a moral and ethical system centered around AhM. and the realization that enacting in this world the values AhM. represents was the highest form of worship.

33.8. *frō ... vōizdūm arəθā* 'Take ye heed of the goals'. *vōizdūm* is 2pl. impv. of the perf. of *vid*, not of the aor. The root *vid* 'know' appears only as a perf. in the Gāthās: 1sg. *vaēdā* 28.10, 34.7 etc., 2sg. *vōistā* 28.10, 32.6 etc., 3sg. *vaēdā* 31.2; 3sg. opt. *viḍyāt* 48.9; 1sg. subj. *vaēdā* 48.9. Full grade in *vōizdūm* as in *cikōitərəš* 32.11.

*yasnaem ... xšmāvatō aī vā ašā staomyā vacā* 'worship of your kind as well as words praiseworthy with truth'. Parallels showing juxtaposition of *stu* or *vac* with *yaz* appear in 30.1b *staotācā ahurāi resnyācā*, 34.1a

*yā vacaṇhā yā yasnā*, 34.6c *yažammascā ... stavas*, 34.12a *kaṭ vā sūtiō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*, 50.4a *aṭ vā yazāi stavas*. On *ašā staomyā vacā*. cf. 28.1 *mainyāuš ... spəntahyā ašā*.

*dātā vā aməratāscā utayūiti haṇrvatās draonā* 'Your enduring worshipful offering has been established to be immortality and completeness'. Closest parallel : 34.11a *aṭ tōi uhē haṇrvāscā x'arəθāi.ā aməratatāscā* 'Yes, both completeness and immortality are to serve for Thy food (sustenance)'. Both passages express the notion that the immortality and completeness allotted to god by the faith and piety of his believers (cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*) is the highest form of offering which man can make to god. This idea is also contained in 49.5ab *aṭ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūitišcā, yā daēnqm volū sārəštā manayhā* 'Yes, Wise One, that man is both milk and butter (for Thee), who has allied his conception with good thinking'. where *ižācā āzūitišcā* are to be understood in the 2 senses of the milk and butter offering dedicated to god during his worship and the metaphoric level of the strength and prosperity for god which the faith of every true believer represents for him. On the last idea, cf. 29.7 *tām āzūitiš ahurō maθrəm* etc. The form *dātā* is discussed at 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā; utayūiti* at 30.7 *aṭ kəhrpəm utayūitiš* etc.

33.9. *aṭ tōi mazdā tām mainyūm ašaoxšayantā sarəidyayā ... vahištā barəti manayhā* 'Yes, for Thee, Wise One, let a person support with the very best thinking the very spirit of the two companions who increase the truth'. The two companions (?) appear to be *ārmaitiš* 'piety' and *volū xšaθrəm* 'good rule' acc. to 28.3bc *yaēihyō xšaθrəmcā ... varədaiti ārmaitiš* and 34.11bc *vaṇhəns xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūti taviši* 'Through the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)'.

*x'āθrā \*maēθā.mayā* (Mss. *maēθā mayā*) 'though that happiness which consists of change'. Humbach's attempt (1959. II 41) to take *mayā* as instr. of *azəm* cannot be maintained, because only *θvā* (never *\*θvayā*) is attested for the 2nd person *tvəm*. I therefore read *\*maēθā.mayā* as a compd. (cf. 29.11 *\*āhmā.rātoiš*) modifying *x'āθrā*, which is the expected instr. in complementation with trans. *uxšayant-*. Here *maēθā-* belongs with the root *mi* 'alter, change' (Ved. *mināti*) attested in Yt. 19.29 *framītam aspəhe kəhrpa* 'changed into the form of a horse' (cf. Sl. 1971, 575), and *-mayā-* is the equiv. of Ved. *-māya-*, also usually at the end of a compd. Notion thus corresponds to 34.6b *aṭ taṭ mōi daxštəm dātā ahyā uṇhəns višpā maēθā* 'Then grant that sign

to me through every change of this world'. The fundamental idea of the first 2 lines of 33.9 is to express the hope that truth shall increase as every way of deceit is defeated in turn.

*ayā ārōi hākurānām yayā hacintē urvqñō* 'The association of these two has (already) arisen, under whom (all) souls are in harmony'. The plural forms *hacintē urvqñō* preclude direct reference to the dual forms. I therefore understand a suppressed *vispā* with *hacintē urvqñō*, and this subject is immediately obvious from the following *\*vispās \*tōi hujītayō* in flg. 33.10a. Note, however, that 45.2e contains the plural *nōiṭ urvqñō hacaintē* although the vs. deals with the two spirits, but the use of *urvqñō* is well motivated in that passage, since the preceding subjects *manā*, *sōnghā*, *xratavō* etc. are all plural and thus have regulated the use of *hacaintē*.

33.10. *vispā.stōi hujītayō* should be redivided as *\*vispās \*tōi hujītayō* 'all those whose way of life is good for Thee'. The fem. forms *vispā* and flg. *yā(scā)* require *gaēθā*, as in 49.1b *dušarəθrīš*. False division of words was influenced by freq. appearance of *stōi* elsewhere in the text at 31.18, 34.4, 45.10. etc. For principle, cf. introd. p. 11 f. On *brāintī*, cf. 28.11 *bavaṭ*.

*θvalmī hīš zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give them a share in Thy approval'. Same meaning attested for Ved. med. *ā bhaj*: cf. RV. IV 32.21c *ā no bhajasva rādhasi* 'Grant us a share in thy solicitude'. This meaning and construction is otherwise attested in Ved. only in the active, e.g. V 34.5d *ā devayīm bhajati gōmati vrajē*, VII 27.1d *ā gōmati vrajē bhajā tvāṃ naḥ*, etc. Thus we must conclude that in the impv. voice distinction is occasionally violated. Cf. *ā ... idūm* in 33.7 above, which corresponds to an otherwise actively inflected paradigm. In general, *θvalmī hīš zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* is antithesis to 47.5c *hanarə θvalmāṭ zaošāṭ drəgvā \*baxšaitē* (Mss. *-aitī*) 'The deceitful man shall have his share apart from Thy approval'.

*rohū nxšyā manayhā xšaθrā ašācā uštātanūm* (J<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>1</sub>, Mf<sub>1</sub>) 'Grow Thyself, in breath and body, through the rule of good thinking and of truth'. On the fig. *rohū manayhā xšaθrā ašācā*, cf. 30.7. The form *uštātanūm* cannot be separated from *astvantəm ... uštānəm* 31.11b, *astvāitē uštānāi* 34.14a, *astvaṭ ... uštānā* 43.16c, and below 33.14a *tanvaseiṭ x'ahyā nštānəm* 'the breath of even his own body'. I therefore take it as an adverbial form 'with respect to body and breath' and explain it as arising by haplology from *\*uštānatanūm*.

33.11. The use of the nom. forms *yā savištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitišcā*

*ašamcā* with the flg. impvs. *sraotā* and *mərəzdātā* also appears in AitBr. 7.17 (verse) *madhuchandāḥ śṛṇotana ṣṣabho reṇur aṣṭakaḥ. ye keca bhrātaraḥ sthana ...* Humbach (1959, II 42) is probably correct in remarking that the presence of the rel. clause has affected the replacement of expected vocs. by nom. forms in the nouns employed correlatively with the impv. verbs.

*ašamcā frādaḥ.guēθm manascā volū xšaθramcā* 'truth which prospers the creatures and good thinking and their rule'. On the disjunctive use of *xšaθram* referring to preceding *ašam* and *volū manō*, cf. 29.11 *kudā ašam* etc.

*ādāi kaḥyācīḥ paiti* 'when any requital comes (occurs)'. Loc. abs. construction: for other exx., cf. 31.19 *vayhān vidātā rṇayā*.

33.12. *us mōi āraśvā ahurā* 'Rise up to me, Lord'. For parallels, cf. 29.11 *aḥ mā mašā*.

*ārmaiti tāvišim dasvā* 'Receive force through (our) piety'. Closest parallel: 34.11bc *ārmaitis vaxšt itayūti tāviši* '(our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)'. Again the notion that the piety of the faithful grants power to god and his rule discussed at 28.3 *xšaθram ... varadaiti ārmaitis*. Vedic employs med. *dhi* in identical fashion. Cf. RV. II 11.18ab *dhiṣvā śávaḥ sūra yéna vṛtrām. avābhinat* 'Receive (from the Soma) that very might with which thou didst break open the obstacle'; V 55.2a *svayāni dadhidhve tāviṣim yāthā vidē* 'As is (well) known, ye have received force by yourselves': etc.

33.13. *dōiši mōi yā vā ahifrā tā xšaθrahyā* 'Reveal to me the safeguards of your rule'. Follows naturally from preceding verse: AhM. is to receive all sorts of strength from his adherents, and he is in turn to grant to them his support. *ahifrā* is difficult, but because of the lack of palatalization (i.e. not *\*aihiḥfrā*), it must repose upon orig. *\*āhiḥfrā*, with the common shortening of initial *ā*. Derivation thus appears to be from *\*ā-bihhra-* (Ved. type *śiśnātha-* 'perforation'), with the same development of *\*-bhr-* > *-fr-* appearing in *jaḥfra-* 'deep' = Ved. *gabhirā-*. The root *har* appears in the sense 'support' in the Gāthās in *baranā-* 'support' 30.9, *vahištā haratū manayhā* 'let one support with the very best thinking' in 33.9b above.

*ašā daēnā daxšayā* 'Reveal the conceptions in harmony with truth'. Belongs with 44.10c *yā* (= *daēnā*) ... *ašā ... hacāmmā* 'which conception is in alliance (harmony) with truth'. For disc., cf. 32.2. In general, the intent of the whole line *frō spautā ārmaiti* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) *ašā daēnā daxšayā* 'By reason of my virtuous piety, reveal those conceptions in harmony with

truth' belongs with 43.10ab *aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozaomī / ārmaiti hacimūō iṭ ārəm* 'Therefore, do thou reveal to me the truth, which I continue to summon. Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it'. This last passage clearly shows that *ārmaiti* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) is the preferable var. in 33.13c here.

33.14. *paurvatātəm manayhascā vayhēuš* 'predominance of good thinking'. The following *šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxδaliyācā* 'as well as (predominance) of the action and the word allied with truth' also depends upon the preceding *paurvatātəm*, which is coordinated with the next phrase through the use of the conjunctions *cā ... yācā*. For disc., cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyatecā manayhō*. The instr. *ašā* modifies both *šyaoθanahyā* and *uxδaliyācā* acc. to the typical employment appearing in 34.15ab *valištā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā, tā tū volū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell the best words and actions, namely, those allied with good thinking and truth'. Further exx. of this syntactic usage are noted at 32.2.

All the acc. forms *paurvatātəm*, *səraošəm* and *xšaθrāmcā* depend upon a suppressed inf. *stōi*, which has as its natural complement the dat. *ahurāi*. Cf. 34.4ab *aṭ tōi ātrəm ... usōmalū ... stōi rapautē ciθrā.avayhəm* 'We wish Thy fire to be of clear help for Thy supporter', 49.2c *ahunāi stōi ārmaitīm*, etc.

## Yasna 34

Verses 1-3 are a solemn promise to the Wise Lord that the faithful shall strengthen his power in this world through the sacred dimension of worship and praise for their lord and by the secular enactment of the spiritual values of truth and good thinking, which he created, amid their fellow men. Moved by this oath, the Wise One is to bring salvation to his allies, which in verse 4 is defined as assistance for those who support his lordly principles and destruction for those who oppose his good rule.

In verses 5-7 we find one of the rare occasions in which Zarathustra asks whether his god really possesses the mastery to accomplish these needs in this world. But these moments of incertitude do not really represent the doubts of the prophet regarding the inherent powers of his lord, for they are clearly intended as a challenge to the Wise One to rally to the cause of good in his proponent's world. The reason for the help of god is then explained in verses 8-9. Opposing the commandments of the Wise Lord and the ways of truth and good thinking, these deceitful adversaries have wrought great danger for the truthful, who have tried to flee from these destroyers of this earthly existence. Nonetheless, the devoted have not lost their faith, for they persevere in their actions founded upon good thinking and in their piety and respect and appreciation for the lord who created the lofty principles of truth and good thinking (10). By such actions, as described in verses 1-3 as well, these faithful have given life and meaning to their god, and they shall continue to strengthen his might in their world. Their god is now a force to be reckoned with on earth (11).

Verses 12-15 then entreat the lord to indicate his desires as to how the truthful may most effectively bring to realization in their world the wondrous powers of truth and good thinking, which shall attain salvation from deceit for all of mankind.

34.1. *yā ... aməratatātəm ašəmcā taibyō dāyhā ... xšaθrəmcā haurvatātā* 'with which ... Thou hast received for Thyself immortality and truth and mastery over completeness'. The 3 terms *aməratatātəm*, *ašəmcā* and *haurvatātā* are in equal coordination as in 31.21ab *haurvatā aməratā-tascā ... ašaḥyācā ... xšaθrahyā*, where they all depend upon the flg. gen. *xšaθrahyā*. Cf. passage for disc.



*aēšqm tōi alurā ālmā pourutāmāiš dastē* is literally 'Let it be given of these to Thee, Lord, by us in the greatest number'. *pourutāmāiš* is purposely ambiguous, to be construed with the partitive gen. *aēšqm* and with the instr. *ālmā*. K. Hoffmann (1954, 50 fn 6) explains *dastē* as 3sg. pres. of *dā* 'give', but it seems better to interpret the form as a jussive inf. corresponding in function to the impv. *dāmā* in 34.3a below, which is in fact set parallel to a juss. inf. *\*arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*). With regard to its formation, *dastē* has been built to the pres. tense inf. *dazdyāi* 44.1 on the model of the correspondence existing betw. *sastē* 30.8, 46.12 and *sazdyāi* 30.2, 51.16, both inf. to *sanh* (cf. 30.2).

This verse and the following one are paraphrased at 47.1, which should be consulted for a complete disc.

34.2. The interpretation of this verse follows from the recognition that the instr. forms *manayhā ... šyaoθanā ... garōbiš* correspond to the instrs. *šyaoθanā ... vacayhā ... yasnā* of the preceding vs. Thus it continues the notion that all the powers of AhM. (*i tōi ... vīspā*) have been granted (*dātā* = 3sg. aor.; cf. 31.2) by the good and faithful behavior of men.

*manayhā mainyēuš vayhēuš* 'by the thinking stemming from (one's) good spirit'. Syntax corresponds to 34.10a below *vayhēuš manayhō šyaoθanā* 'by his action stemming from good thinking', where all the parallel abl. constructions are discussed.

*spəntahyācā nərəš šyaoθanā yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē* 'by the action of the virtuous man whose soul is in alliance with truth'. This is an expanded stylistic variant of 33.14c *šyaoθamahyā ašā* 'action in alliance (harmony) with truth', and corresponds to 47.1b *hacā ašāš šyaoθanācā vacayhācā* in the paraphrased parallel (cf. remark at the end of vs. 1 above).

*pairigaēθē xsmāvatō valmē* 'in universal praise of your kind'. *pairigaēθa-* 'around the creatures, universal' is similar to Ved. *pārijman-* 'around the earth, universal'. The form anticipates the lig. *gaēθā vīspā* 'all the creatures' in the next verse.

34.3. This verse concludes the motif of the preceding two. If the powers of AhM. are dependent in this way upon the faithful, then the true adherents must make their proper offering to him.

*ārōi zi ludāyghō vīspāiš ... xsmāvasū savō* 'Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent man by all those of your kind'. Syntax and content follow 51.20a *taš vō nō hazaošāyghō vīspāyghō daidyāi savō* 'All ye (immortals) of like temperament, let that salvation of yours be granted

to us'. Cf. also Ved. parallel RV. I 128.6f *viśvasmā it sukṣīte vāram ṣṣvati* cited at 30.3 *huzdāyihō* etc. Both *ārōi* and *daidyāi* (for *\*dāidyāi*) are jussive pass. inf.s., and in particular the use of *ārōi* corresponds to the function of the impv. *dāmā* in *tōi nyazdām ... dāmā* of line a. *ārōi* is thus for orig. *\*arōi*, which has been normalized after the med. perf. *ārōi* 33.9. Similarly, the juss. inf. *ārōi* (from *ar* 'arise') 50.5 reposes on orig. *\*arōi*, which has been preserved at 28.4 *\*māng \*airē* because the text was falsely redivided as *mām gairē*. On the process of normalization, cf. introd. p. 14ff.

I recognize other juss. inf.s. in the text in *dāvōi* 28.2 (parallel to impv. *ā mōi ... jasatā* 28.3), *āyōi* (= *ā.iyōi*) 31.2, *rōiθwān* and *uxšyō* 31.7, *vidqm* 32.6, *uziraidyāi* and *azō* 43.14 (with suppressed impv.), *āxsō* 46.2 (parallel impv. *vaēnā*), *ūcam* 48.9, *ārōi* (= *\*arōi*) 50.5 (parallel impv. *āvišyā*), *daidyāi* 51.20.

34.4. *aṭ tōi ātrām ... usāmahi ... stōi rapamē ciθrā.avaγhām aṭ mazdā daibišyantē ... dərəštā.āēnaγhām* 'We wish Thy fire, Wise One, to be of clear help to Thy supporter but of visible harm to Thy enemy'. Belongs with 51.9ac *γqm xsnūm rānōihyā dā θwā āθrā suxrā mazdā / rāšayeyhē drəgvantām savayō ašavanam* 'Which satisfaction Thou shalt give to the two factions through Thy bright fire, Wise One, ... (a sign) to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful man'.

34.5. *kaṭ vā xsāθram kā īstis* 'Have ye the mastery, have ye the power?'. *kā* stands for expected *kaṭ* (Fragewort), and has simply been assimilated by Zarathustra to the following fem. *īstis*. Syntax similar to 48.2c *kaṭ ašavā ... vānghaṭ drəgvantām* 'Shall the truthful conquer the deceitful?', etc.

*yaθā vā ahmi* 'as I indeed am'. The var. *ahmi* (S<sub>2</sub>, O<sub>2</sub>, etc.), although attested in fair Mss., is far better than *hahmi*. This phrase, to be considered a parenthesis, refers directly to *drigūm yūšmākam* of the immediately flg. *θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākam* 'to protect your needy dependent'. On other such parentheses, cf. 34.8b below *hyaṭ \*aš.aojā nāidyāγham*, 43.8b *hyaṭ isōyā*, etc. Cf. also the syntax of 44.15bcd, where line c *hyaṭ hām spādā anocayhā jamaētē* is interposed betw. the syntactically connected lines b and d.

The flg. *θrāyōidyāi drigūm* recalls Yt. 11.3 *sraošō driγūm θrātō.tamō* 'S. who best protects the needy'. Lommel (1968, 127 ff.) has convincingly explained *drigu-* as 'the needy one, dependent'. The usage of *ašā vohū manayhā* with *θrāyōidyāi* anticipates vs. 7c *ašā aθā nā θrāzdūm*, which is the reason why I do not take these instr. forms as comit. instr. with

voc. *mazdā*; cf. next vs. Note also that *ahurō mazdā*, *ašəm* and *vohū manō* are all 3 considered the protectors of Zarathustra in 50.1bcd *kā ... θrātā ... anyō ašāθ θwaṭcā mazdā ahurā ... vahištāaṭcā manayhō*. Thus it is best to link *ašā* and *vohū manayhā* here in 34.5 as agentive instr. with *θrāyōidyāi*.

34.6. *yezi aθā stā haiθīm mazdā ašā vohū manayhā* 'If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking'. Syntax same as 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... mazdā ... ašā vohū manayhā*. Cf. remarks at 28.3 *yā vā ašā ufyāni* (end) and Zwolanek (1970, 31).

*ahyā ayhāuš vīspā maēθā* 'through every change of this world (existence)'. For disc., cf. 33.9 *x\*āθrā \*maēθā.mayā*.

On the fig. *yazəmnaiscā ... stavas*, cf. 33.8 *yasnəm ... xsmāvatō* etc.

34.7. *arədra-* 'sincere', translated in light of Sogd. *rōwk-* 'id.', the latter belonging to OP. *ardhumanīš* 'sincere-minded'; cf. Gershevitch (1954, 22 §154). Thus normal alternation of *-ra-* and *-n-* adjs.

*vayhāuš vaēdānā manayhō* 'through the possession of good thinking'. Antithesis to *vayhāuš əvīstī manayhō* 'through the lack of good thinking' in vs. 9b below.

*sānghūš raēxənā aspāncīθ sādrcīθ caxrayō nšaurū* '... make even immoral decrees and painful legacies disappear'. I take *aspān* with *sānghūš*, *sādrā* with *raēxənā* respectively. Both *sānghūš-* 'decree' and *raēxənah-* 'legacy, inheritance' belong to the legalistic vocabulary; cf. 31.1 *sānghāmāhi* and 32.11 *raēxənah-*. The form *nšaurū* is problematic: my translation 'disappear' is based on a tentative association of the word with *aošah-* 'destruction, disappearance' 49.1.

34.8. *tāiš zī nā šyaoθauāiš hyemē* (var. *hyāntī* J<sub>2</sub>) *yaēšū as pairi poruhyō iθvejō* 'Because they frighten us with actions in which there has been danger for many ...'. *hyemē* must be of caus. value, since the acc. *nā* 'us' is parallel to acc. *nāidyāghəm* 'the weaker person' in the Plg. *hyaθ \*aš.aojā nāidyāghəm*, with both phrases resuming motif of *θrāyōidyāi drigūm* of vs. 5b above. Thus, *hyemē* cannot represent *\*hayemē*, for the Ved. *bhāyate* is always intrans. (on *hayemē* Yt. 17.12-13, cf. Lommel 1927, 161 fn 1). I therefore prefer the var. *hyāntī* (J<sub>2</sub>), which stands for an orig. reading *\*hyāntī* of the Urtext (cf. *aibi ... dūmī* for Urtext *\*dāumī* 32.15). This *\*hyāntī* I ascribe to an enlarged root *hyā* 'frighten': cf. the parallel enlargement *brāh* 'frighten' in *biwivāgha* from *\*bihvāgha* at Yt. 19.48.

*hyaθ as aojā nāidyāghəm* cannot be correct, for the intention is

clearly 'They frighten us ... much as the very strong person the weaker man'. I therefore emend *as aojā* to *\*aš.aojā* 'one of great strength'; cf. *aš.aojah-* Y. 9.8. 57.15; *aš.aojišta-* FrW. 8.2; etc. The change of *\*aš.aojā* to *as aojā* has been motivated by the surrounding forms *as* (*yaēšē as. rohi as manō*) in the same vs. Similar mistake at 31.9a *as xratuš* for *\*aš.xratuš* and 44.19d *asistiš* for *\*aš.ištiš*: cf. introd. p. 8. The whole phrase *hyaṭ \*aš.aojā nāidyāṇham* is a parenthesis: cf. *yaθā vā alimī* in vs. 5a above.

*θvaliyā ... qstā urvātalyā* 'because of malice for Thy commandment'. The phrase is obj. gen.: cf. 28.4 *šyaoθananqm ašiš*.

*yōi nōiṭ ašarī mainyautā* 'who have not respected (the) truth'. For disc. and parallels. cf. 31.19 *gūštā yō mantā ašau*.

*aēihyō dūirē volū as manō* 'Good thinking has remained at a distance from these'. Same motif as 32.4b *daēvō.zuštā vaṇhāuš sičdyannū manayhō* 'Those pleasing to the gods continue to retreat from good thinking', but viewed from the other point of departure.

34.9. Verses 9 and 10 juxtapose contrasting ideas. The parallel elements are *vidušō*: *garəhqm. duš.šyaoθanā*: *vaṇhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā*.

*yōi spəntqm ārmaitīm ... duš.šyaoθanā avazazaṭ* 'those of evil actions who have abandoned virtuous piety'. Contrasts with flg. 34.10ab *ahyā vaṇhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā vaocaṭ garəhqm huxratuš spəntqmcā ārmaitīm* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety', where *garəhqm* refers back to the part. *vidvali-* in preceding vs. 9a *ārmaitīm θvaliyā ... hərəxδqm vidušō* 'piety esteemed by Thy knowing follower'.

*vaṇhāuš avisti manayhō* contrasts with preceding *vaṇhāuš vaēdanā manayhō* in vs. 7a above.

34.10. *ahyā vaṇhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā ... huxratuš* 'through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination ...'. Antithesis to 47.5d *ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāṭ ā šyqs manayhō (drəgvā)* 'dwelling (= living) by his actions stemming from evil thinking, the deceitful man ...'. This last ex. is very important in that it clearly shows that *vaṇhāuš manayhō* in the current vs. must be a parallel ablative. Thus syntax is comparable to 32.3a *akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram* and its antithesis 33.6a (*ərəzuš*) *hvō mainyāuš ā valištāṭ kayā*. These two sets clearly indicate that in all other instances of similar figures in the Gāthās only an abl. interpretation is the correct one.

These are, listed by type: 46.14e *vayhēuš uxδāiš manayhō* = 47.2b *uxδāiš vayhēuš δānū manayhō* = 51.3b *uxδāiš vayhēuš manayhō*. 34.14b *vayhēuš šyaoθanā manayhō*, 45.5e *vayhēuš mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš*, 47.2c *ārmātōiš ... šyaoθanā*, 48.5b *vayhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*, 50.9b *ašā vayhēuš šyaoθanāiš manayhō* 'with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth'. With both word and action: 44.10d *ārmātōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš*, 45.8c *vayhēuš mainyēuš šyaoθanahyā uxδaliyācā ... ahurām* 'Lord of the action and word stemming from Thy good spirit', 53.1d *daēnayā vayhuyā uxδā šyaoθanācā*. With thought: 34.2a *manayhā mainyēušcā vayhēuš* 'and through thinking stemming from good understanding'. Related also: 48.11d *kāug ā vayhēuš jinaṭ manayhō cistiš* 'To whom shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?' and 48.8d *vayhēuš mainyēuš šyaoθananqin javarō* 'incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'.

*dqmīm vidvā hiθqmī ašahyā* 'knowing the creator and ally of truth'. This must refer to AhM. acc. to 31.8bc *hyaṭ θwā hām cašmaini grabam haiθim ašahyā dqmīm* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the real creator of truth' and 32.2ab *ahurō ... ašā huš.haxā x'āuvātā* 'the Lord, the good companion of sunlike truth'. Thus Zurathustra seems to say, when a man realizes that AhM. is the creator and ally of truth, he expresses his understanding of this by acting with good thinking, through which AhM. himself did create truth (cf. 31.7), and also with the piety necessary for offering strength to his lord (cf. 28.3).

*tācā vispā ... θwalmi mazdā xšaθrōi ā vōyaθrā* is difficult, but seems to refer to the remaining powers of AhM. *vōyaθrā* is probably for orig. \**vōiθrā*, perhaps related to Lat. *vis*; thus my translation 'powers'.

34.11. *aṭ tōi ubē haurvāscā x'arāθāi.ā amərətātāscā* 'Now, both completeness and immortality are (to serve) for Thy food (sustenance)'. For disc., cf. 33.8 *dātā vā amərətātāscā* etc.

*vayhēuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūiti tavišī* 'Through (or, along with) the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)'. This statement belongs with intrans. 33.10c *vohū uxšyā manayhā xšaθrā ašācā* 'Grow through the rule of good thinking and truth' and all the other exx. discussed at 28.3bc *yaēihyō xšaθramcā ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*. On the fig. *vayhēuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc.

*tāiš ā mazdā vidvaēsqmī θwōi.ahi*. Lommel (1942, 14) has shown that *θwōi.ahi* belongs with *upā.θwayēiti* 'terrorize' Vyt. 27 and is thus to be

restored as *\*θwōyahi* (assim. of orig. *\*θwayahi*). However, the form does not represent a false vocalization, but shows the attempt to normalize the misunderstood *\*θwōyahi* acc. to the phrase *θwōi as* at 31.9a. For process, cf. introd. p. 13. Similarly, I explain *vidvaēšqm* for orig. *\*vidvaēšam* 'the enemy', influenced by the freq. gen. pl. *aēšqm* appearing in the text. The phrase is therefore: *iāiš ā mazdā \*vidvaēšam \*θwōyahi* 'By reason of these things. Wise One. Thou dost terrorize the enemy'.

34.12. *kaṭ tōi rāzarō kaṭ vaši: kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*. The reading *vaši* does not seem correct, for we expect a noun parallel to preceding *rāzarō* and upon which the Ilg. gens. *stūtō* and *yasnahyā* can depend. Cf. Y. 71.1 *kaṭ asti raθwam jramaraitiš*. Yt. 1.1 *kaṭ asti mąθrahe ... auzavastamam*, etc. I therefore emend to *\*vasō*, noting that the orig. reading is partly attested in the var. *vasō* (J<sub>2</sub>, Jp<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>). Change of *\*vasō* to *vaši* was motivated by the fact that the form otherwise appears in the Gāthās in conjunction with the root *xšā* (once with root *i* in the empd. *vasō.iti-* 53.9), and its use here in 34.12 must have seemed odd to the redactors of the text, who substituted the expression *kaṭ vaši* 'what wishest thou?', which must have been a well known phrase to them. Thus translate: 'What is Thy directive? What Thy wish? Is it for praise? Is it for worship?'. Parallels of the fig. *stūt-* ... *yasna-* are given at 33.8 *yasnam* etc.

*yā vidāyāi ašiš rāšnam* 'by reason of which one should distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive'. The form *rāšnam* should be ascribed to the adj. *rāzam-* 'following directive(s)', corresponding to the preceding *rāzarū-* 'directive'. The combination *ašiš rāšnam* recalls above 34.3c *hūdāghō ... savō* 'salvation for the beneficent man', and follows the pattern that most gen. forms of neut. nouns are used possessively in the Gāthās; cf. 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

*sīšā nā ašā paθō vaṭhōuš x'aētāng manayhō* 'Instruct us to the paths of good thinking, easy to travel in alliance with truth'. *ašā* modifies *x'aētāng*, as is obvious from Ilg. 34.13b *yāhū ... ašāciṭ urvāxšaṭ* 'along which one shall proceed in alliance with truth'. According to 51.16b *vaṭhōuš padəbīš manayhō*, we should have expected *\*ašā x'aētāng vaṭhōuš paθō manayhō*, but *x'aētāng* and *paθō* have interchanged places in order to allow the caesura to fall in its usual place. Cf. 44.2e *hārō mainyū ahūm.bīš urvaθō mazdā*, where *mainyū* and *ahūm.bīš* also have been reversed for exactly the same reason.

34.13. *daēnā saōšyantəm yāhū karəiā ašāciṭ urvāxšaṭ* 'to the con-

ceptions of those who shall save, along which Thy extoller shall proceed in alliance with truth ...'. *yāhū* (J<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>1</sub>) is correct, for the pron. resumes preceding *daēnā*, in turn a paraphrase of *advānəm* ... *vayhāuš manayhō* in line a and *paθō vayhāuš x'aētāng manayhō* in vs. 12c. The conceptions of the saviors (world-healers) are certainly founded upon the enactment of good thinking and truth in this world. Also, I prefer the var. *karātā* (S<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>, K<sub>4</sub>) to *kəratā*, and I explain it as nom. sg. of a stem *karatur-* 'extoller, commemorator'; cf. 29.8c *carəkəraθrā srāvayējhlē* 'to recite hymns of praise', described as one of the fundamental acts of the true believer. The word thus continues the theme of *kaṭ vā stūtō* in the preceding vs. Finally, *mrvāxsaṭ* here and in 44.8 is 3sg. subj. of the s-aor. of *vraṭ* 'proceed'. It is difficult to decide whether the form has adopted the expected extended grade of its corresponding indic. or whether we are dealing with a case of the freq. lengthening of *a* to *ā* after *r*. Cf. Addenda.

*hyaṭ cəvištā hūdābyō mīzdəm* 'the prize which has been promised to the beneficent'. *cəvištā* is for orig. *\*cōištā*, just as *cəviši* 51.15 and *srāvīmā* 28.7 stand for orig. *\*cōiši* and *\*srōimā* (older *\*sravōimā*). The lig. *hūdābyō mīzdəm* responds to *ašiš rāšnəm* in the preceding vs.

34.14. *taṭ (= mīzdəm) zi ... vairim astvaitē nštānāi dātā* 'For this prize, desirable for both body and breath, has been established (determined) ...'. On *astvaitē nštānāi*, cf. 30.7 *kəhrpəm ... qnuā*. On *dātā*, cf. 31.2 *aibi.dəraštā*.

*vayhāuš šyaoθanā manayhō: yōi zi gəuš vərəzənē azyā* '(for those) who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow'. The lig. *vayhāuš šyaoθanā manayhō* belongs within the rel. clause *yōi* etc., but has been preposed before the rel. pron. to avoid breaking this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For disc., cf. 28.1 *vayhāuš xratīm manayhō*. On the syntax of abl. *vayhāuš ... manayhō*, cf. *ahyā vayhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā* in vs. 10 above, where other exx. are discussed. In general, it is important to note that *yōi zi gəuš vərəzənē azyā* is a metaphor for the community of the faithful followers of good thinking and truth. Cf. remarks at 30.10 (end) for treatment of parallel metaphors.

*frādō* is nom. pl., not gen. sg., of the root noun *frād-*, and agrees with antecedent *yōi zī*.

34.15. *aṭ mōi vahīštā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā | tā tū vohū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell to me the best words and actions, those allied (in harmony) with good thinking and truth'. Syntax resembles 33.13ab *dōiši mōi vā*

vā \*ābifrā tā xšaθrahyā ... and thus suggests that a rel. yā has been suppressed before *vahištā*. For employment of the instr. *volū managhrā ašācā*, cf. 32.2, where all parallels are given.

*išudam stūtō* 'the claim (due) for my praise' is obj. gen.; cf. 28.4 *ašiš šyaοθananqra* 'rewards for our actions', where other exx. are listed. On *fərašām ... dā ahūm* 'Thou shalt heal the world', cf. 30.9.

In general, note that the whole phrase *xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā fərašām haiθyām dā ahūm* 'Through your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly heal this world in accord with our wish' is antithesis to 46.11ab *xšaθrāiš ahūm yūjān karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaοθanūiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* 'During their regimes, the Karpans and Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy the world and mankind'. For disc., cf. 30.9 *aica tōi vaēm hīyāmā* etc.



### Yasna 43

This hymn, entirely addressed to Ahura Mazdā, begins with 4 verses requesting the help of the lord to achieve support for truth and good thinking among men; also the compelling understanding arising from a virtuous spirit which is at the basis of the former task. From this point on, as in Y. 47, Zarathustra concentrates his attention on the workings of the virtuous spirit in both god and man. In verses 5-6 he relates his recognition of this quality in his god, in that the Wise One was motivated to create existence, to fix an appropriate reward for a person's behavior (good or bad), and to come to save the fallen world debased by the effects of evil and deceit. Verses 7-15 then recount the prophet's own awakening of his calling to the service of his lord, a realization resulting from his confrontation with the workings of the same virtuous spirit upon himself. The visitations of the virtuous spirit described in this Gāthā belong to Zarathustra's extraordinary vision and have been formulated by him in such dramatic terms for the purpose of depicting the development of his own understanding in terms of real encounters with a force strong enough to motivate him to a new dimension of perception of the characteristics and problems of existence.

Analysis. Quoting a prayer which states that the Wise One indeed has the power to grant any request, Zarathustra immediately sets the theme in the first verse by entreating his god for the might to sustain truth and good thinking in the world of man. In this way he at once identifies his nature with the essence of his god who created these principles, yet stresses that the difference between them lies in the helplessness of man, in the pervasive power of god, to bring these spiritual forces to realization. Verse 2 then continues with the complementary notion: Mankind must also become understanding through the workings of a similar virtuous spirit, because it was through the effects of such a spirit that god himself was moved to create truth and good thinking. Thus this world must possess not only the instruments to attain the highest good but also the inherent understanding and moral quality to drive them to set these instruments into motion in their own existence. The highest good which can be so achieved approaches the state of perfection in which god himself abides (3). God, who holds all powers (current and future), must

therefore intercede for the good of man (4). This is the special purpose in the prophet's designation of his lord as virtuous and brave in the verse, which thus defines him both as the source of the moral principles of truth and good thinking and the power to bring these to fulfillment. Verses 5 and 6 then describe the prophet's understanding of his god's dimensions of virtue. He created the world, for without its creation there would be no possibility to comprehend his goodness. He judges man with fairness. He has come to save the world with his principles of truth and good thinking.

In the following verses Zarathustra describes the awakening of his own understanding, which was evoked through his own personal encounter with the force of this virtuous spirit. Elevated to heightened perception through this spirit, the future prophet realized that he must take sides in the innate struggle between good and evil in this world (7), and that the only possible choice lies in the alliance with truth and in the opposition to deceit (8). That he must serve this cause of truth (9) with knowledge founded upon good thinking (10), which alone shall bring the best existence to pass in the world of man (11). That there must be obedience for the one true god, the Wise Lord (12), for only under his rule of truth and good thinking can this earthly life become meaningful (13).

In the final verses Zarathustra swears his allegiance to the Wise Lord and entreats, by reason of their comradeship and their unity of purpose, for his god's support to bring to realization the things which the prophet has come to understand in his spiritual vision (14). Verses 15 and 16 establish Zarathustra's alliance with the virtuous spirit of god in a solemn oath, and to prove this truth, he quotes the fundamental principles which shall heal this world: One must oppose the forces of evil but submit to the majestic powers of the Wise Lord. Truth and good thinking must grow strong and mature in this world. These highest precepts thus return to the basic motif so eloquently expressed in the very first verse of this Gāthā. The circle is thus complete.

43.1. *uštā ahmāi ... mazdā dāyāi ahurō* 'May the Wise Lord grant wishes to him'. These first 2 lines, framed in impersonal speech which differs from the personal style of *vasāmi* and *mōi* in lines ed, are a *maqbra*. Here Zarathustra quotes a Segensspruch intended to move AhM. to grant his entreaties expressed in the flg. lines of vs. 1 and in the subsequent vss. 2 and 3.

*utayūiti tavišim gaṭ.tōi vasamī ašam dərəidyāi*. The traditional text cannot be correct here, since *utayūiti-* is always employed as an adj. in the Gāthās (cf. 30.7) and must therefore agree with *tavišim* here, as in 48.6ab *hā nā utayūitīm dāṭ tavišim* 'she shall grant enduring strength to us'. Constructions involving *vas* 'wish' with an inf. always govern the acc., which necessitates the emendation to *\*utayūitīm tavišim* in our passage. Cf. 34.4ab *aṭ tōi ātrəm ... usāmahi ... stōi rapantē ciθrā.avaṇham*, 50.2b *yā hīm alimāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ*, etc. Thus translate: 'I wish enduring strength to come in order to uphold the truth'. Direct parallel is given at 46.3.

*rāyō ašiš vaṇhāuš gaēm manayhō* 'the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking'. These specify the expression in 28.2bc *ahvā astvataścū hyaṭcā manayhō āyaptā* 'the attainments of both existences (worlds) — of the body as well as of the mind'. In 43.13de below these are also described as *darəgəm āyu* 'long life' and *vairya stiš* 'the desirable condition' existing under the rule of AhM.

43.2. *aṭcā alimāi viṣpanqm vahištəm* 'Moreover, (I wish) the best of all things for this person'. The phrase is still dependent upon *vasamī* in vs. 1. The pron. *alimāi* appears in place of expected *maiḥyō* in order to imitate the form *alimāi* in the preceding *maṭru*. Note, however, that Zarathustra also refers to himself in the 3rd person at 49.12ab, with subsequent switch to 1st person forms in the final 2 lines of the vs.

*x'āθrōyā nā x'āθrəm daiditā* stands for orig. *\*x'āθrōi \*yā nā \*x'arəθəm daiditā* 'by which a man might place the person of good goal in happiness'. Cf. 28.2c *yāiš rapantō daiditī x'āθrē* 'by which one might place your supporters in happiness' and 50.5d *yā nā x'āθrē dāyāṭ* 'by which one might place us in happiness'. On orthographic shortening of *\*x'āθrōi \*yā* to *x'āθrōyā*, cf. 53.3d *hūdāuvarəšvā* for *\*hūdānū \*varəšvā*. Cf. also SI. (1965, 17 f.).

*\*x'arəθa-* is cognate with Ved. *svārtha-* 'of good goal, purpose' (also trisyllabic), and also lies at the basis of *x'ar'θiya-* 'deriving from good purpose' in 28.10c *x'araiθyā ... sravā*. In related context, cf. 33.8a *frō mōi vōizdūm arəθā yā volū šyavāi manayhā* 'Take ye heed of my goals (purposes), which I shall enact with good thinking'. Passage here seems to define *x'arəθa-* as a person whose goals are motivated by good thinking. Replacement of orig. *\*x'arəθəm* by *x'āθrəm* has taken place under the influence of preceding *\*x'āθrōi*. On process, cf. introd. p. 8 f. and SI. (ibid.).

*θwā ciciθwā spāništā mainyū mazdā* 'to be understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit. Wise One'. *ciciθwā* is nom. sg. of a stem *ciciθwan-*, the equiv. of Ved. *cikītvān-* 'understanding': the form is not instr. of a stem *cicitu-*. Cf. 43.7 below.

*yā dā ašā vañhāuš māyā manayhō* 'through which (spirit) Thou didst create the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth'. The rel. pron. *yā* does not anticipate *ašā*, but refers back to the preceding instr. *spāništā mainyū*. AhM. does not create the good through truth but by reason of his very virtuous spirit, which is his prime motivating force. Cf. 44.7de *azām tāiš θwā fraxšnē avāmi mazdā / spantā mainyū vispanqm dātāram* 'Through these (questions) I am trying to discern Thee, Wise One, to be the Creator of everything by reason of Thy virtuous spirit'; 51.7ah *yā gqm tašō ... spāništā mainyū mazdā* 'Thou, Wise One, who didst fashion the cow by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit': also 45.6bc *yā hūdā yōi hanti spantā mainyū* 'Who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of His virtuous spirit'. Syntax of 43.2cd here thus identical to 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dantiš ašam yā dāraya / vahištam manō* 'Through this intention He created truth, by reason of which (intention) He has (also) upheld the very best thinking', where instr. *yā* likewise refers back to preceding instr. *xraθwā*.

*ašā* thus belongs with *vañhāuš māyā manayhō* in the sense of 'the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth'; cf. 32.2. Stylistically identical: 34.11b *vañhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā ma!* 'the rule of good thinking allied with truth' (similarly, 51.18b), 46.2e *vañhāuš ašā ištīm manayhō* 'the power of good thinking allied with truth', 50.9ah *tāiš vā ... pairī ... ayeṇi ... ašā vañhāuš xšaοθanāiš manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with action stemming from good thinking allied with truth'.

43.3. *arəzūš savayhō paθō sīsōi!* '(who) might instruct us to the straight paths of the Mighty One'. Both the flg. line d *haiθyāng ā.stiš yāng ā.šaēiti ahurō* 'to the true heights where the Lord dwells' and the parallel 33.5c *arəzūš paθō yaēšn ahurō šaēiti* show that *savayhō* must also refer to AhM. Thus the form belongs to *savah-* 'mighty' (= Ved. *śavās-*); cf. designation of AhM. at 33.11a *yā savištō ahurō*. Adj. *savah-* also appears at 28.9c *išō xšaθrāmē savayham* 'The powers and mastery belong to (you) mighty ones' and 51.2c *vahmāi ... savayhō* 'for the glory of the Mighty One', both referring to AhM. and his companions. Cf. also remarks at 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

*haiθyāng ā.stiš* 'the true heights'. I analyse the word *ā.sti-* 'height' as

*ā-st-i-* and thus combine it with Ved. *ā sthā* 'elimb, mount'. Thus morphologically related to the Ved. type *ni-dh-i-* 'treasury', etc. Cf. also *paity-ā-st-i-* 'firm foundation' 53.3.

The word *huzāntu-* 'of good lineage, noble' belongs with Ved. *sujātā-* 'id.' and lies at the basis of *haozqθwa-* 'good relationship' 45.9.

43.4. *hyaṭ tā zastā yā m̐ hafšī avā yā dā ašiš* 'if Thou shalt help me with the very hand with which Thou dost hold those rewards which Thou shalt give'. The form *avā* is intentionally double-valued, both as 2sg. pres. subj. *avā* 'thou shalt help' and as acc. pl. pron. *avā* 'those' corresponding to *yā dā ašiš*. Note that the juxtaposition *zastā ... avā* is meant to recall 29.9c *zastavaṭ avā*.

*hyaṭ mōi vāyhāuš hazē jimaṭ manayhō* '(and) if the force of good thinking shall come to me'. This *hyaṭ* clause is parallel to the preceding one and also depends upon *aṭ mānghāi*. The line belongs with 46.2e *āxsō vāyhāuš ašā īšīm manayhō* 'to see the power of good thinking allied with truth' and 48.6b *dāṭ tavišīm vāyhāuš manayhō* 'she shall grant the force of good thinking'. Intention is that there is just as great a power in promoting the ways of good thinking and truth as there exists in the ways of evil, under whose control the world now regrettably lies.

43.5. *hyaṭ θivā aṭhāuš zqθōi darasam paourvīm* 'when I saw Thee to be the First One at the creation of the world'. Belongs with 44.3b *kasnā zqθā piā ašahyā paourvīē* 'Which man was the father of truth in the beginning, during the creation?'. Both *zqθōi* and *zqθā* attest to a stem *zqθa-* 'birth, creation' (correct. Bthlm. 1904, 1693).

*hyaṭ dā šyaoθanā mīzdavan yācā uxδā* 'when Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes'. On coordination with *yācā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatasē hyaṭcā*. The whole phrase is discussed at 28.4 *ašišcā šyaoθananam* etc.

43.6. *yahmī ... urvāēsē* must designate a time between *aṭhāuš zqθōi* 'at the creation of the world' and *dāmōiš urvāēsē apāmē* 'at the final turning point of creation'. Thus I take the phrase as 'at this very turning point, time', noting that the Ilg. *ahmī* is intentionally ambiguous. Zarathustra means, on the one hand, *yahmī ... urvāēsē ... ahmī* 'at which turning point I exist (am)' = 'now', with *ahmī* = Ved. *āsmi*.

*jasō mazdā xsāθrā ahmī volū manayhā* 'Thou, the Wise One, hast come into the world with the rule of good thinking'. The second value

of *ahmī* (= Ved. *asmin*) resumes *ayhānīs* of the preceding vs. acc. to Zarathustra's characteristic employment of this pron. Thus this passage is a variant of 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volū ašācā* 'But to this world He came with the rule of good thinking and truth', where the use of the pron. forms *ahmāi ahmī* are discussed, as well as the fig. *xšaθrā volū manayhā (ašācā)*. Note that the root *i* is also attested with loc. in the same meaning in RV.: cf. IX 50.2 *ūd irate tisrō vācaḥ .... yād āvya ēṣi sāmavi* 'Three voices arise when thou goest into the sheep back (strainer)', etc.

*vehyā švaōθarānīs gaēθā ašā frāclanē* 'through the actions of which the creatures allied with truth do prosper'. For disc., cf. 44.15 (2nd para.).

*aēihyō ratīs sāughaii ārmaitīs θvaliyā xratānīs* 'To these does piety announce the judgments of Thy will'. Juxtaposed with preceding *jasō ... xšaθrā* in order to show the dependency of sovereignty upon piety and obedience. Motif is dealt with at 28.3 *xšaθrām ... ārmaitīs*.

43.7. *hyaṭ nā volū pairi.jasaṭ manayhā* 'when he attended me with good thinking'. Implicit subject of *pairi.jasaṭ* is *spāntō mainyuš*. This is clear from the development of this hymn. Verse 2 states that the best of all things to befall a man is to become motivated by the virtuous spirit of the lord with which he himself has created all that is wondrous and good. Verse 3 continues, if this occurs, one would reach the highest good, that state of sincerity, nobility and virtue which distinguishes the lord. The preceding verse 6 then states, this is now possible for mankind, since AhM. has come into the current world with his virtuous spirit, offering it to those who comprehend that truth and good thinking will further existence. Zarathustra now explains in verse 7 here how he indeed was moved by the spirit of the lord to realize the true situation. Specifically, the use of *spāntam aṭ θwā ... mānghū ... hyaṭ mā volū pairi.jasaṭ manayhā* 'Yes, I realized Thee to be virtuous when he attended me with good thinking' is intended to resume the idea *θwā ciciθwā spāntistā mainyū* 'to become understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit' in vs. 2c above.

*kaθā ayarā daxšārā fārasayāi dišā aihi θwāhū gaēθāhū tannšicā*. In that the questions of vs. 7 correspond to the answers in vs. 8, viz. *ciš ahī* 'Who art thou?' and *zaraθuštrō* '(I am) Zarathustra'; *kahyā ahī* 'To which (side) dost thou belong?' and *ašaonē rafānō hīām* 'I would be a support for the truthful man' (essential answer), it is clear that *kaθā ayarā daxšārā fārasayāi dišā* must also correspond to *hyaṭ ā*

*būstiš vasasə.xšaθrahyā dyā* of vs. 8d. Consequently, it is first obvious that we must read *\*daxšār ā ... dišā* in order to obtain a locution parallel to *ā ... dyā* in the flg. answer.

The resulting *\*daxšār* (better *\*daxšārə*) immediately suggests a neut. pl. of a stem *daxšār/n-* of the type *sax<sup>a</sup>ārə* 29.4 (*sax<sup>a</sup>ar/n-* 'word'), *ayārə* 43.2 above (*ayar/n-* 'day'), whose meaning should be 'revelation' acc. to *daxšayā* 'reveal' 32.13, *daxšaṭ* 'revealed' 43.15 below. Ascribing such meaning 'revelations' to *\*daxšār(ə)* fits very well within the constant use of *mānghī* 'I realized' throughout this hymn, for if this Gāthā can be described in any characteristic way, it is certainly a 'hymn of revelations'. Cf. the motif *θwā ciciθwā spāništā mainyū* in vs. 2c and *hyaṭ ... daxšaṭ nšyā ... vahištā* 'when he revealed the best things to be said' in vs. 15bc below.

*ā dišā* and flg. *ā dyā* (= *\*diyā*), the only med. forms of *ā dā* in Av., belong best with Ved. med. *dhā* 'undertake, begin', freq. construed with an inf. Cf. RV I 85.9c *dhattā indro nāry āpāṇsi kártave* 'Indra undertakes (begins) to perform his heroic acts', etc. Consequently, the hypersyllabic *fārasayāi* should contain an inf. of some sort, and the only typologically correct one would be *\*fārasē*, of the Ved. type *-grābhe -rābhe* (State II roots). Positing now a much earlier form of the phrase as *\*daxšār ā frasai dišā*, it can be seen that the usual repetition of preverbs would result in *\*daxšār ā frasai ā dišā*, which I envisage resulting in false *\*frasayā* owing to the appearance of *frasayā* at 44.13. The subsequent writing *fārasayāi* simply issues from the tendency to write final *-yā* as *-yāi* (cf. SI. 1962, 61 f.); cf. vars. *fārasayā frasayā* even here and note *nšyā nšyāi* in 43.15 below, etc. For the meaning of the inf., the common Gāthic sense 'counsel, advise, explain' of the med. forms of *fras* seems most favorable to me.

*kaθā ayarə* can only be translated as 'how, this day?', and the flg. *yavaṭ ā* (orig. *\*yavatā*) ... *staomī* 'while I praise ...' is the appropriate answer. Cf. RV. VIII 86.2a *kathā mūnāṇi vāṇi vimanā ūpa stavat* 'How shall V. praise you now?'. VIII 94.8ab *kād vo adyā mahānāṇi devānām āvo ṛṇe* 'Shall I entreat today for the help of the great gods?'. etc., with adverbial expression of time following initial question word. Finally, *tamušicā* appears to be a mistake for *\*tamušucā* (already Bthlm. 1879, 42), or possibly *\*tamušvicā*.

All these considerations thus require the reconstruction *kaθā ayarə \*daxšārə ā \*fārasē \*(ā) dišā aiḇi θwāhū gaēθāhū \*tamušucā* 'How, this day, wouldst thou undertake to explain these revelations among thy creatures and thine own?'.  
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43.8. *hyaṭ isōyā* 'if I were able' is a parenthesis. Cf. *yavaṭ isāi* in flg. vs. 9c and 34.5a *yaθā vā ahmī*. The form *isōyā* is graphically regular for *\*isōiyā* and thus represents a thematically inflected opt. built to 1sg. subj. *isāi* 28.4, 43.9, 50.11. For disc., cf. 28.7 *srəvinā*.

*hyaṭ ā hūštiš vasasə.xšaθrahyā dyā / yavaṭ ā (\*yavatā) θwā mazdā staomī nfyācā*. The use of *hyaṭ* shows a change to indirect discourse, and therefore the employment of *θwā mazdā* 'Thee, Wise One' is proper, although AhM. cannot be the subject of the repeated *pairi.jasaṭ* (cf. vs. 7 above). The word *hūštiš* is difficult, but since it must somehow continue the notion of *\*daxsārə* 'revelations', I translate it as 'endeavors' in light of Ved. *bhūṣ*, freq. 'to endeavor'. Cf. RV. X 42.1b *bhūṣann iva prā bharā stōmam asmai* 'Endeavoring, as it were, to him I shall offer praise', where *bhūṣan* appears with *stōmam* parallel to *hūštiš ... staomī* in 43.8de here. Also VIII 99.2b *ivē ā bhūṣanti vedhāsaḥ* 'The masters endeavor under thee (= under thy direction)', etc.

Furthermore, since *vasasə.xšaθrahyā* intentionally corresponds to *vasə xšayus mazdā ... ahurō* of vs. 1b and therefore cannot resume *hōi* of *aṭ hōi aoji* 'Then I said to him' of line a here, we must supply *tōi* to *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, obvious from the flg. *θwā mazdā*. Thus translate: 'That I would undertake (to explain) the endeavors of (Thee) the One ruling at His will, while I praise and eulogize Thee, Wise One'. This addition of *tōi* modifying *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, implicit from the flg. voc., is required also in the syntactically parallel lines 45.11de *saošyantō dāng patōiš ... / urvaθō hrātā piā vā mazdā ahurā* 'He is an ally, a brother or a father (of Thee), Wise Lord, the Master of the house who shall save (us)'.

43.9. *ahyā fərasəm kalmāi vividyē vaši* 'To his question: Whom dost thou wish to serve?'. *fərasəm* stands for orig. *\*fərasqm*, acc. of *fərasā*- 'question', and the flg. *kalmāi* clause is simply the direct question (correct, Bthlm. 1905, 51; Lommel 1971, 98; etc.). Final *-ām* for *-qm* appears in *hyām* 43.8 (preceding vs.), 50.9, *starām* 44.3, *xšnām* 48.12, 53.2, etc. For disc. of *kalmāi vividyē*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā ... dantō*.

*aḍā θwalmāi āθrē* 'I said: Thy fire'. Geldner gives only 2 vars. here, viz. *aṭ ā* (K<sub>5</sub>) and *aḍā* (J<sub>2</sub>). The latter is preferable since we expect a verb of speaking in answer to *ahyā \*fərasqm* in the preceding line. *aḍā* thus = *ādā* in YH. 35.8 *kalmāiciṭ ... ādā* 'I have said to everyone', which would have been written *\*adā* in the orig. text, with usual shortening of initial *ā-*. *aḍā* is therefore a modernization and the var. *aṭ ā* results from a false division to *\*ad ā*, with automatic change to



pause form *aī*. Influence of vs. 8 *aī* (2x), vs. 10 *aī*, etc. *θwalmāi āθrē* is correct dat. with *vid* 'serve', responding to previous *kalmāi wīviduyē vaši*. Cf. *ādarē* in vs. 15 above.

*yavaī isāi* is again a parenthesis. On *manyāi*, cf. 31.19 *gūštā yā mantā ašām*. Note the locution *ašahyā ... manyāi* here imitates *mantā ašām* in the cited passage.

43.10. Continues the preceding discourse without any interruption. Zarathustra is still responding to *spəntō mainyuš*.

*ašām hyaī mā zaozomī* 'the truth, which I continue to summon'.

For parallels, cf. 31.4 *yadā asām zəvīm*.

*ārmaitī hacimnō īī ārəm* 'Being in alliance (harmony) with piety, I have deserved it'. For *ārmaitī hacimnō*, cf. 32.2. The meaning of *ārəm* is discussed at 28.10 *dāθa- ... ərəθwa-*.

*parštəm zi θwā yaθənā* 'for what is counseled (explained) through thy effort'. *yaθənā* is discussed at 31.22.

43.11. *hyaī \*xsmā.uxdāiš didaijē paourvīm* 'When I was first instructed by your words ...'. Addressed to AhM. now. The reading *xsmā uxdāiš* is best taken as a compd. along with the other exx. listed at 29.11 *āhmā rātōiš*. The form *didaijē* must be a preterite corresponding to flg. *sas* 'appeared' (on which, cf. 29.1 *aθā mōi sasīā*). It therefore stands for med. perf. *\*dāidaijē*, with generalized full grade (cf. Ved. perfs. *śaśaṇse*, *sasraṇsur* from *-aṇs* roots), since a med. 1sg. imperf. requires zero-grade *\*didahi*. Change in redup. under the influence of *didqs* 'expounded' 49.9. For similar changes, cf. *\*didyaī* 'they saw' 44.10 changed to *dāidyaī* under the influence of pres. opt. stem *dāidyā-* from *dā* and *dādarəšatā* 46.7 for orig. *\*dādarəšati*. On the process, cf. introd. p. 16.

*taī vərəzəyēdyāi hyaī mōi mraotā vahištəm* 'to bring to realization that which ye told me is best'. Recalls 47.2ac *ahyā mainyānš spəntištahyā vahištəm ... vərəzyāī* 'One shall bring to realization the best for His most virtuous spirit', where the specific actions are spelled out.

43.12. *hyaīcā mōi mraoš* 'But, that Thou didst say to me'. AhM. is the subject of *mraoš*, and this change of person is properly motivated. After Zarathustra concludes the last vs. with the idea that, once instructed by the *spəntō mainyuš*, he could not believe mankind would bring about what had been revealed to him, he then continues in the beginning of vs. 12 with the notion that AhM. intervened with words of encourage-

ment, spoken in order to make him, the prophet, persevere in his determination.

*aśam jasō frāxšnuē* 'at īm mōi nōi asruštā paīryaozē' 'Thou hast come to the truth in thy discernment. Moreover, thou hast not contradicted me in disobedience'. *frāxšnuē* is redactional change for \**frāxšnuē*, loc. of a stem *frāxšnu-* 'discernment' (= Ved. *prajñā-*), showing the effects of normalization after *frāxšnuōm* in vs. 14 and *frāxšnuō* 29.11; the latter clearly in the var. *frāxšnuō* here and *frāxšnuē* in the latter passage. This phrase *aśam jasō* \**frāxšnuē* thus properly responds to the wish *θwā ciciθwā spānīštā mainyā* expressed in vs. 2e, and both ideas support one another. The form *asruštā* is loc. of *asrušti-* 'disobedience', on which cf. 33.4; *paīryaozē* is discussed at 31.19 (4th para.).

*parā hyaī mōi ā.jinaī sərəušō aśi ... hačmuō* 'before obedience shall have come to me accompanied by (my) reward'. *jinaī* is subj. employed in preterite context: cf. 45.2 *ūm uravaī*. Zarathustra is saying that he was to become obedient to AhM, before the reward for such good behavior was to come to him. The next line qualifies that such rewards (both good and bad) are to be dispensed at the final judgment.

*yā vi aśiš rānōihyō savōi dāyāi* 'according to which (obedience) one shall distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of salvation'. *savōi* is loc. of a stem *sava-* '(time of) salvation'. Temporal instr. pl. *savāiš* (cf. 30.7 *ayaīhā ādāmāiš*) appears in 51.15c *tā* (= *mīzdā*) *vā volhū nanaijā* \**aśēcā savāiš cəviši* 'These (prizes) have been promised to you by good thinking and truth during the times of salvation' and 48.1d *aī tōi savāiš vahnuōm vaxšaī ahurā* 'Then one shall increase Thy glory, Lord, during the times of salvation'.

43.13. *tām mōi dātā darəgaīyā yaoš yām vā mēcīs dārəšt iē* 'Grant to me that (wish) for long life, to which no one has dared you to accede'. *tām* (= *kāmam*) ... *darəgaīyā yaoš* is obj. gen. (cf. 28.4 *aśēcā šyaoθananam*), and resumes the motif *darəgō.jyātōiš urvāduhā* in vs. 2e above. The form *dārəšt* is 3sg. root aor. of *dəš* 'dare', on which the flg. inf. *iē* depends. Regular syntax in OP. in DB I 53f. *kašciy naiy adaršuanš cišciy θastanaīy* 'No one dared to say anything' and in Ved., e.g. AitBr. 4.8.4 *na ha tam dadhryatur ... vaktum* 'They did not dare to say to him ...'. Similar syntax with *dəš* also appears in the Gāthās at 46.7b *hyaī mā drəgvā* \**dādarəšati aēnajiē* 'if the Deceitful One shall dare to harm me'. Subsequently, *yām* belongs with the inf. *iē*, where the idiom *kāmam i* clearly means 'to accede to a wish'. Cf. parallel Ved.

expression *kāmam āi* in RV. X 66.14cd *prītā iva jñātāyaḥ kāmam ētya, asmé devāso (ā)va dhūnutā vāsu* 'Like friendly acquaintances acceding to our wish, cast goods down upon us, ye gods'.

(*kāmam*) *vairyā stōiš yā θwahnī xšaθrōi vācī* '(and the wish) for that desirable condition which is said to exist under Thy rule'. Resumes the theme of *vayhāuš gaēm manayhō* 'life of good thinking' in vs. 1e above. *vairyā* is for orig. \**vairyayā*; cf. Lommel (1934, 72) and 28.7 *srəvimā*. Cf. also introd. p. 18.

43.14. Continues the preceding idea, but with a fundamental difference. Whereas vs. 13de represents the direct words of Zarathustra to the *spəntō mainynš*, Zarathustra now paraphrases his desires directly to AhM. The same stylistic device reappears in the connected vss. 15 and 16 which follow.

*maihyō (dāidi) mazdā tavā rafənō frāxšnənam* '(Grant) to me, Wise One, Thy fitting (proper) support'. *frāxšnənam* is discussed at 29.11 *frāxšnənō*.

*hyaṭ θwā xšaθrā ašāṭ hacū fraštā* 'which has been attained through Thy rule (which is) in accord with truth'. In the context of this vs. solely directed to AhM. (cf. *mazdā, tavā, tōi*), it is better to take *fraštā* as 3sg. med. aor. than as 2pl. act. aor. The form is thus medio-pass., on which cf. 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā*. Similar zero grade also in *niš-qsyā* 'reject' 50.2.

*uzirəidyāi azō sarəduuṣ sənghahyā maṭ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi maθrā marəutī* 'Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching, (let me) along with all those who heed (remember) Thy precepts'. Textually related to 31.1ab *tā vō urvātā marəutō agnštā vacā sənghāmahī uēihyō yōi ... ašahyā gaēθā vīmərəncuitē* 'Heeding (remembering) these commandments of yours, we teach those words which have gone unheard by those who destroy the creatures of truth'. Both *uzirəidyāi* and *azō* are best taken as juss. inf. For other exx. of this usage, cf. 34.3.

43.15. *daxšaṭ nšyā (S₁) \*mšnā.maitiš vahištā* '(and) the meditative one revealed the best things to be said' seems to be the best reading and interpretation of the passage: cf. Sl. (1962, 60 ff.). *daxšaṭ* resumes theme of \**daxšārē* in vs. 7 above, which should be consulted.

*uōiṭ nā ... ašaonō ādarō*. These final 2 lines are certainly the words of *spəntō mainynš* quoted now by Zarathustra.

43.16. *hvō manyūm zaraθuštrō vərəntē ... yastē cišcā spəništō* 'This Zarathustra does choose that spirit of Thine which indeed is the most

virtuous'. This statement appearing in the final vs. of this Gāthā leaves no doubt that the third party of the hymn is the *spəntō mainyuš*. The fig. *vispāng angrāng* has been carefully chosen in the final line of the preceding vs. so that *spāništō* might contrast with it here.

*astivaŋ ašəm* etc. and the flg. 2 lines conclude the revelations given by *spəntō mainyuš* to Zarathustra. Vs. 15de began with the statement that one should reject the deceitful. The contrasting thought is now presented in the final 3 lines here, namely, that one should give his total support to truth, good thinking and the Wise Lord. This only makes sense if the statements are taken as words stemming from the spirit of the lord and therefore quoted now by Zarathustra to show that he indeed did become understanding through the very virtuous spirit of AhM. Thus a recapitulation of the themes of vss. 1 and 2.

*x'āng.darasō* (K<sub>5</sub>. Pt<sub>4</sub>) *xšaθrōi liyāŋ ārmaitiš* 'May there be piety under the rule of Him who has the appearance of the sun'. Touches again upon the theme of the relationship betw. sovereignty and piety. Note *jasō ... xšaθrā ... ārmaitiš* in vs. 6 above, and for parallels, cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... ārmaitiš*. The Ved. use of *devān swardīśah* (I 44.9d), *mitrāvaruṇā swardīśā* (V 63.2b), etc. makes it apparent that *x'āng.darasō* is a empd. (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1880), and that it refers to AhM. Note, too, that the Ved. empd. can also repose on an old gen. *\*svarž-dīś-*, with the same gen. continued in the expression *svār dīśike* (I 66.10b = 69.10b). The var. *darasōi* simply issues from the influence of flg. *xšaθrōi*. Cf. introd. p. 6.

*ašim šyaoθanāiš valū daidīŋ manayhā* 'May He dispense through good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions'. Resumes theme of *hyaŋ dā mīzdavən yācā uxδā* etc. in vs. 5cd above. Parallels also at 28.4 *ašīšcā šyaoθananqm ... mazdā ahurahyā*.

#### Yasna 44

This lyric, with its formulaic insistence which is surely intended to reflect the persistence of Zarathustra's own determination, is a wide-ranging inquiry addressed to the Wise Lord, in which the prophet asks questions of diverse nature in order to clarify his own position regarding the issues under investigation. At once establishing his friendship with god, which should compel the lord to answer, Zarathustra asks in verses 1 and 2 how a person, committed to the Wise One and the principles he has created and maintained, may best honor the lord, so that truth and good thinking might also come to this world through such faith and devotion. This at once sets the prophet as an ally of his god and as a person who truly understands in which direction the endeavors of mankind should be forcefully enacted.

In verses 3-7 Zarathustra then inquires after the creator of all the aspects of both the physical and moral worlds. But these questions are essentially rhetorical, for the prophet then admits that he has asked about all these things as a means to define for himself the role of Ahura Mazdā as the creator of everything. Verse 8 then inquires about the future reward for the prophet's dedication to the cause of truth and good thinking, and the following 3 verses puzzle over the problems of the good vision, which itself is a view of this earthly existence controlled by these very forces of truth and good thinking. How might the prophet bring this conception to realization (9)? Will his fellow creatures understand its aims (10)? Will they be pious to the lord who created this (11)?

Zarathustra then turns in verses 12-16 to the immediate problems of attacking the forces of deceit. How can one truly distinguish a deceitful person (12)? How can deceit be rejected (13) and undermined (14) for good? Which side shall eventually win (13), and who shall bring this to pass (16) with the help of the lord?

The next 2 verses ponder the question as to how the prophet may gain a devoted following for his god (17) and also for himself (18). Verse 19 subsequently focuses on reward and punishment, which provides the subtle transition to the final verse wherein the prophet poses the question of whether the gods were ever good, thus implying that they and their followers deserve destruction because they oppose the advent

of truth and good thinking in this world. This furnishes the recapitulation to the theme of the first verse of the Gāthā entreating for the arrival of truth and good thinking.

44.1. *nəmaghō ā yaθā nəmō xšmāvatō* 'how reverence for one of your kind should be from the reverent person'. The use of the postposition *ā* with the abl. in 31.21b *būrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāf*, 33.6a *hvō mainyāuš ā vahistāf*, 44.13b below *nīs aluṃaf ā nāšāmā*, etc. clearly suggests that *nəmaghō ā* here is 'from a reverent person'. Thus from the adj. *nəmah-* 'offering reverence'. Cf. also 32.11 *raēxənah-*. The fig. *nəmo xšmāvatō* is obj. gen. with animate subject appearing in the gen. Cf. parallel type 34.3c *hūdāghō ... savō* 'salvation for the beneficent man'. 34.12h *ašiš rāsuṃ* 'rewards for those who follow Thy directive'. etc.

*salīyāf mavaitē* 'should declare to me'. I now see (contra SI. 1972a, 62 fn 4) that *salīyāf* must belong to the aor. of *sanh* 'declare' (correct. HH. 1959, II 53), not *sāh* 'instruct', because the latter root is construed only with an acc. complement. Cf. 28.11b *frō.mā sīsā*, 34.12c *sīsā nā*, 43.3b *yā uā ... sīsāf*, 45.6e *frō.mā sāsātū*. The syntactic usage here of *frīyāi ... salīyāf mavaitē* therefore necessitates combination with *sanh* which governs the dat. Cf. 30.2c *ahuuāi sazdyāi*, 30.8c *aēihyō sastē*, 43.6d *aēihyō ... sōnghaiti*, 46.17a *yaθrā vō ... sōnghāni*, etc. Similar distinction is usually maintained in Ved., e.g. RV. IV 16.2cd *śāṇṣātī ukthām ... cikīrīṣe* contrasting with X 52.1a *śāstāna mā yāthā* 'Instruct me how ...'.

*aṭ nō ašā frīyā dazdyāi hākurəuā* 'and (how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us'. This line and the next one still depend upon preceding *salīyāf*. Cf. syntax of 43.4, where both *hyaṭ* clauses are structured in a parallel way. *frīyā ... hākurəuā* is almost the equiv. of the Eng. expression 'friendly relations'.

*yaθā nō ā volū jīmaṭ manayhā* 'in order that it (= truth) shall come to us together with good thinking'. *ašam* is the subject of *jīmaṭ*, to which *volū manayhā* is joined as comit. instr. The presence of *volū manō* is usually expressed as subordinate to the presence of AhM. or that of truth. Cf. 28.6a *valū gaidī manayhā* 'Come together with good thinking' (to AhM.). 51.20ab *taṭ vō nō ... dazdyāi savō / ašam volū manayhā* 'Let that salvation of yours be granted to us: truth accompanied by good thinking'. Notice also the coupling of *ašam* and *volū manō* in vs. 13de below, which represents the antithesis to the wish expressed here. Cf. also 43.2 (last para.).

44.2. *kaθā aṃhāuś vahištahyā paourvīm* 'Is the beginning of the best existence in such a way (that) ...'. On the use of *kaθā* for \**kaṭ aθā*, cf. 29.2 *kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš*. Corresponding to *kaθā* is a suppressed *hṃaṭ* which begins the next line. The use of *aṃhāuś vahištahyā paourvīm* in line a is a deliberate variant of the fig. *aṃhūś paouruṃyō* discussed at 28.11.

*kāθā sūidyāi yā i paitiśāṭ* '(that) the loving man who shall seek after these things is to be saved?'. Just as *dāθa-* 'just', *hiθa-* 'companion', *urvaθa-* 'ally' correspond to *dāta-* 'law', *hita-* 'team', *urvata-* 'commandment' (cf. HH. 1952b, 4), *kāθa-* 'loving' also corresponds to *-kāta-* 'love' in *xratu.kāta-* Yt. 13.16. In 47.4cd the antithesis *aśāunē kāθā aṃhāṭ ... akō drəgvāitē* 'shall be loving to the truthful ... bad to the deceitful' is a stylistic alternant of the contrast good-bad appearing in 33.2ab *yō akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti* and flg. 33.3a *yō aśāunē vahištō*. This supports well the derivation of *kāθa-*. On *paitiśāṭ*, cf. 30.1 *iśantō*.

*hivō zi ... irixtəm vispōibyō / hārō moinyū ahūm.biš urvaθō mazdā* 'For such a person, watching over (= guarding) the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One'. The phrase *irixtəm vispōibyō hārō* is antithesis to 32.11b *apayēiti raēxənaṃhō vāēdəm* 'by stealing the possession of the (true) inheritor' (q.v.). The instr. *mainyū* clearly belongs with flg. *urvaθō* acc. to 31.21c *yō hōi mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō* 'who is His ally in spirit and actions'. The word has simply been moved to the front of the line because *ahūm.biš* would not fit properly before the caesura. For parallel, cf. 34.12 *sīšā nā ašā* etc.

44.3. *kasuā zaθā ptā ašahyā paouruṃyē* 'Which man was the father of truth in the beginning, during the (time of the) creation?'. *zaθā* is discussed at 43.5. The form is employed as an instr. of time duration, for which other exx. are given at 30.7 *aṃaṃhā ādānāiš*.

*kasuā x'āng starāncā dāṭ advānəm* 'Which man created the course of the sun and of the stars?'. *starām* (Jm<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, etc.) is the proper reading. The form is gen. pl. of the type *narqm* (= Ved. *narām*), *θrayqm*, and is expected in view of the yAv. gen. sg. *stārō* (for \**starō*). On final *-əm* for *-qm*, cf. 43.9 *fərasəm*.

44.4. *kō vātāi dvqmmaiḃyascō yaogəṭ āsū* 'Who yoked the pairs of swift (coursers) to the wind and to the clouds?'. *āsū* is a distributive dual here, comparable to Yt. 10.136 *auruša aurvauta yūxta \*rāšəm* (Mss. *vāša*) *θaujasāute* 'When yoked, the pairs of ruddy coursers shall

pull his chariot (cf. K. Hoffmann 1968, 285 fn 11). Note that *dvqman-* is the equiv. of yAv. *dunman-*. Resonant with *-an-* is regularly employed to indicate a nasalized resonant. Cf. *uəraqčyāi* 44.14, *uəraqšyāi* 45.1, *uəraqš* 45.7, *fr̥yqrmahi* YH. 38.4, *lvqmmahi* YH. 35.5 for *\*m̥n̥-*, *\*n̥n̥-*, *\*fr̥m̥-*, *\*h̥m̥-*.

44.5. *kā yā ušā arām.piθwā xšapācā* 'Who is it through whom dawn exists together with noon and night?'. The placement of *cā* only after *xšapā* shows that *ušā*, *arām.piθwā* and *xšapā* cannot be in equal coordination; cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Therefore *arām.piθwā xšapācā* must be considered comit. instr. with *ušā*, as in the constructions 49.10c *uəmascā yā ārmaitiš īzācā* 'and reverence with which piety and milk are joined' and 51.11b *kā spəntā ārmaitiš* 'With whom is virtuous piety allied?'. Consequently, we can posit stem *arām.pitu-* (cf. instr. *xraθwā* 31.7 etc.) and stem *xšap-* (cf. gen. *xšapō* Y. 57.31 and Ved. *kṣap-*) for the Gāthās.

44.6. *ašəm šyaoθanāiš dāhazaiti ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'. Recalls 43.16c *astvaš ašəm šyāš uštānā aajōnghvaš* 'May truth be embodied and strong with breath'. I translate *dāhazaiti* in light of Ved. *bahū- bahulā-* 'thick, substantial'. Related to our passage is the Ved. antithesis in RV. III 31.19c *drūho vi yāhi bahulā ādeviḥ* 'Pursue the substantial (= important) deceits of the ungodly'.

*taihyō xšaθrām vohū cinas manayhā* 'It (piety) has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking'. This and the preceding line belong with the parallels given at 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varadaiti ārmaitiš*. Both illustrate the mutual dependency between sovereignty and piety. On the fig. *xšaθrām vohū ... manayhā*, cf. 30.7. The value of *cinas* is discussed at 33.2.

44.7. *kā bərəxδqm tāšt xšaθrā maš ārmaitīm* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule?'. Continues motif of the previous vs.

*kā uzəmām cōrəš vyānayā puθrām piθrē* 'Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father?'. *vyānayā* is loc. of a stem *vyānā-* 'attentiveness' discussed at 29.6. Note also the etymologically related *vyqm* appearing in 48.7. Lommel (1971, 115 f.) aptly remarked that the relationship between father and son is a fundamental ex. of the interaction of *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitiš*.

*azəm tāiš θwā fraxšnē* (J<sub>3</sub>) *avāmī mazdā spəntā mainyū vispanqm dātārəm* 'Through these (questions) I am helping to discern Thee, Wise



One, to be Creator of everything by reason of Thy virtuous spirit'. This statement furnishes the motivation for all the questions of the preceding vss. The form *fraxšnē*, though attested only in a fair Ms. (cf. also *frašneni* K<sub>4</sub>), is the preferable reading, since an inf. dependent upon *avāmī* works well syntactically. Cf. RV. IX 61.22ab *sá pavaśva yá ávitha, indram vṛtráya hántave* 'Purify thyself, thou who didst aid Indra to smash the obstacle'; also VIII 37.6a *kṣatrāya tvam ávasi ná tvam ávitha* 'Thou dost aid the one to rule, thou hast not helped the other'. This inf. *fra-xšn-ē* (to *frā xšnā*) is thus directly comparable to *pōi* 30.7, 44.15-16. The corresponding Ved. infs. *parādāi* 'to deliver', *āyái* 'to drive hither', etc. have full grade, but they have been modeled after the common inf. forms in *-dhiyai*. Correct zero grade is still maintained in Ved. in root-noun inflection: cf. *havir-d-é*, *śuci-p-é*, etc. The common var. *fraxšni* results from the usual confusion of *-i* and *-ē* in the Mss., here particularly in view of the fllg. *avāmī*.

On the syntax of *spəntā mainyū vīspanəm dātārəm*, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc.

44.8. *yācā ašā aṣhōuš arəm vaēdyā* 'and which things are to be properly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth'. *vaēdyā* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>3</sub>) is the better reading to *vaēdyāi* (Pt<sub>4</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.), since a gerundive is the correct grammatical form employed with a rel. pron. The var. *vaēdyāi* has been assim. to the common infs. in *-dyāi* (cf. Sl. 1962, 66). *vaēdyā* itself belongs to *vid* 'find, acquire' clearly, for the phrase *ašā aṣhōuš ... vaēdyā* is a var. of 53.5c *vaēdō.dīm ... ahūm yā vaṣhōuš manayhō* 'Acquire an existence of good thinking'; cf. also 28.5 *manascā volū vaēdāmūō* etc. On the flg. *ašā aṣhōuš*, cf. 32.2.

*kā mō urvā volū urvāxšaṭ āgəmaṭ.tā* 'To what goods shall my soul proceed in the future?'. *āgəmaṭ.tā* is loc. of a stem *āgmati-* 'the future, what is to come', built with the suff. *-ati-* and fully parallel to the past part. yAv. *γəmata-*, OP. *parāgimata-*, built with *-ata-*. Parallel of 34.13 shows that *volū* represents *mīzdəm*, and both stand for salvation. Both verses are essentially parallel: *ādištiš*, *volū manayhō*, *ašā* here correspond to *advānəm vaṣhōuš manayhō*, *daēnā saōšyantəm*, *ašā* there. Both therefore stress the common theme: to follow the commandments of the lord, the life of good thinking and the ways of truth will lead one to salvation.

44.9. The theme of *daēnā* 'vision, conception' dominates the next 3 verses.

*kaθā mōi yəm yaoš daēnəm dānē* 'How shall I give life to that

vision of mine ...?'. *yqm* followed by *yqm* without a corresponding demon. pron. is difficult. Structure of vs. 9 resembles the flg. one, where the sequence *tqm daēnqm yā ... yā* appears correctly, and I would therefore emend to *\*tqm daēnqm* in vs. 9 here. The idiom *yaošē dā* I take consistently to mean 'to give life to, bring to life'. Duehesne (1970, 206) has also seen the connection between *yaoš* and life.

*yqm ... paitišā saliyāi xšaθrahyā* *arəšvā xšaθrā ... asištiš. asištiš* cannot belong to *ā säh* 'instruct, command', because full grade is necessary in the *-ti*-noun as in the past part. appearing in *mazdā- / frāsāsta-* Y. 1.10. It is therefore best explained as a mistake for *\*aš.īstiš* 'one of great power' (cf. *asištiš* S<sub>1</sub>), expected in view of the expression *arəšvā xšaθrā* 'by reason of his lofty sovereignty (rule)'. Cf. SI. (1971, 575 fn 1) and note similar mistakes gathered at introd. pp. 8, 14. Thus translate: 'which (vision) the master of a kingdom, (being) one of great power, would decree by reason of his lofty sovereignty'. On the translation of *saliyāi*, cf. 31.1 *sānghāmahi*.

*hadəmōi ašā vohucā šyax manayhā* 'as he dwells in his seat (throne) together with truth and good thinking'. Contrasts with 47.5d *ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāi ā šyax manayhō* 'as he dwells by actions stemming from his evil thinking'.

44.10. *tqm daēnqm yā hātqm valhištā ... daidyai* 'Have they seen that vision which is the best for those who exist?'. Here *daēnqm* and *daidyai* are used in etymological interplay (cf. 31.20 *daēnā*), and the latter form altered from orig. *\*diidyai* (cf. 43.11 *diidaijēhē*).

The fig. *yā hātqm valhištā* 'which is best for those who exist' is a type of obj. gen. Other related exx. of this type are 46.10b *dāyāi anjēnš yā tū vōistā valhištā* '... would grant the things which Thou knowest to be the best for existence'; 51.19c *gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō* 'better for life through its actions'; also 47.2a *ahyā mainyēuš spāništahyā valhištām* 'the best for His most virtuous spirit'.

*yā mōi gaēθā ašā frādōi hacāmnā* is intentional contrast to 44.20e below *nōi hīm \*īzān ašā vāstrām frādaijēhē*. On *gaēθā ašā*, cf. vs. 15 below.

*ārmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā* 'through words and action(s) stemming from piety'. On syntax, cf. 34.10 *ahyā vayhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā*.

*malīyā cistōiš \*θwā.īstiš usān mazdā* 'In consequence of my understanding, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One'. The phrase *malīyā cistōiš* is best interpreted as an abl. in view of the exx. given at

31.21 *būrōiš ā ... x̥āpaiθyāi. cisti-* 'understanding, insight' is very close in meaning to *daēnā-*. Cf. the parallels 48.5ab *huxšāθrā xšāntqm ... vañhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš* 'Let those of good rulership rule by actions stemming from good understanding' and 53.1d *daēnayañ vañhuyā uxδā šyaoθanāiš* 'with word and actions stemming from good vision (conception)'. Note also that in 51.21ab *hvō cisti uxδāiš šyaoθanā daēnā* 'He is (virtuous) by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception', *cisti-* and *daēnā-* are juxtaposed as in the current vs. 44.10.

Mss. *θwā īstīš* is best read as a compd. (so, Bthlm. 1904, 797); cf. 29.11 *āhmā rātōiš*. The form *nsān* is parallel to *\*didyañ* and therefore also 3pl. imperf. Zarathustra thus continues the previous motif of *xšāθrām* and *ārmaitīš* with the parallel terms *ārmaitīš* and *\*θwā.īstīš*, both left in the hands of man. On the relationship between *xšāθrām* and *īstīš*, cf. 28.7 (beginning).

44.11. *yaēibyō mazdā θwōi vašyetē daēnā* '(those) to whom Thy (good) conception is taught'. *vašyetē* is pass. of *vac* and corresponds in usage to Skt. *ucyate* 'is taught' (in technical literature). Thus the passage is related to 31.1ac *vacā sānghāmahī ... aēibyā vahištā yōi zrazdā añhən mazdāi* 'We teach the best words to those who shall remain faithful to the Wise One'.

*azām tōi āiš puouruyō fravōividē* 'I have been accepted (received) by these as Thy foremost (follower)'. *fravōividē* belongs with the Ved. intens. *prā revīdāma* in RV. VII 24.6b *prā te mahīm sumatiñ revīdāma* 'Let us receive thy great favor (benevolence)'. Cf. also 28.5 *vaēdānuō* (2nd para.).

*višpāng anyāng maiuyēuš spasyā dvaēšayhā* 'Look upon all others with hostility of spirit'. This line and the preceding one are discussed at 33.7 *yā sruyē parā magauō*.

44.12. *arās mōi vaocā ... k̥ā ašavā yāiš pərəsāi drəgvā vā* 'Tell me truly (those principles) by which I shall ask: Who is truthful or who is deceitful?'. *vaocā* requires *iā* or *tāng* (= *mūθrāng*), which is resumed by the rel. pron. *yāiš*. A phrase *\*yāiš pərəsāi k̥ā ašavā drəgvā vā* would be better syntax, but *yāiš pərəsāi* and *k̥ā ašavā* have been transposed in the verse line owing to Zarathustra's preference in this hymn to position a rel. pron. after the caesura. Cf. vs. 1b *yaθā nənīā*, 2c *yā i paitīšāi*, 6b *yezī tā ...*, 8b *yā tōi ... ādištīš*, 10b *yā hātqm*, 13c *yōi asrñštōiš*, 15d *yā tū ... didərəžō*, etc. Cf. also 45.8d *yām mazdqm*

*ahurām* (for *\*ahurām yām mazdām*), 46.5c *rašnā jvqs yā ašavā* (for *\*yā ašavā rašnā jvqs*), where the position of the rel. has also been switched for the same reason. Note also the use of *azām tāiš ... avāmī* in vs. 7d above which corresponds to the employment of *yāiš pərəsāi* here.

*katārām ā angrō vā hvō vā angrō* should be emended to *\*katārā mā angrō* etc., for it is evident that *\*katārā ... angrō vā hvō vā angrō* is fully parallel to preceding *kā ašavā ... dragvā vā*, with both sentences belonging to the direct question. Cf. also *yā mā dragvā* in the next line. A statement now follows in answer, with the regular relation *yā ... hvō*. The Mss. change *katārām ā* results from the influence of 31.17a *katārām ašavā vā*. However, the emendation *\*katārā* is important for it shows that *-ā* was freq. attested in words of more than 2 syllables in the orig. text. Cf. introd. p. 12.

*yā mā dragvā θwā savā paitī.əratē cyanghaṭ*. I follow Humbach (1959, II 57) in interpreting *cyanghaṭ* as *\*cī anghaṭ*, the latter form aor. subj. of *anh* 'be or do evil'. *\*cī*, however, belongs with subsequent *hvō ... angrō mainyetē*, i.e. 'Is that one considered evil?'. *anghaṭ* is part of the preceding line: 'the deceitful one who shall do evil in order to fight against Thy (means of) salvation'. For it is quite clear that the inf. *paitī.əratē* needs a verbal form to depend upon. Thus *anghaṭ* continues from preceding line as in above 44.2de *irixtām višpōihyō / hārō*, etc.

44.13. *kaθā chujām niš alimaṭ ā nāšāmā ! tāng ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənāṇhō* 'How shall we repel (reject) deceit away from us and on to those who are full of disobedience?'. Belongs with 50.2d *\*akṣtāng mā nišqsyā* 'Reject those evil ones indeed', where etymologically related *niš-qsyā* appears. Related also: 33.4a *yā θwaṭ mazdā asruštīm akamcā manō yazāi apā* 'I who, through worship, shall turn away from Thee disobedience and evil thinking'. Cf. also Ved. *nir naś*: RV. X 162.2cd *agnīṣ tām hrāhmaṇā sahā, niṣ kravyādāṃ anīnaśat* 'Agni drove away this flesh-eating demon with a spell'; 3d *tām itō nāśayāmasi* 'we drive him away from here'. Similarly, AV. I 23.2ab *kilāsaṇ ca palitāṇ ca, nir itō nāśayā pīṣat* 'Drive away from here the leprous and pale spot, the blotch'.

*nōiṣ aśahyā ādivyeintī hacānā*. The enigmatic form *ādivyeintī* is to be divided into *\*ādi \*vyēintī*: 3pl. pres. of the root *vī* 'turn one's attention to, pursue'. Cf. *vyēinti* Y. 57.29 and Ved. *vyāntī*, and for disc. of the related roots *vī* and *vyā*, cf. 29.6 *vyānayā*.

\**ādī* and *hacānā* are therefore inflected in the dual and are direct cognates of Ved. *ādhi-* 'care' and *sacanā-* 'companionship, company'. Good support for this interpretation from RV.: cf. I 156.5ab *ā yō vivāya sacāthāya ... indrāya* 'Who turned his attention to Indra for companionship'; X 6.2c *ā yō vivāya sakhyā sākhibhyaḥ* 'Who pursued his alliances for his comrades'; I 105.7c *tām mā vyanti ādhyāḥ* 'Cares pursue me now', etc. Thus our line is: '(who) do not pursue truth's care and company'. Combined with flg. line *nāiḥ frasayā vayhāuš cāxnarē manayhō* 'nor (who) delight in the counsel of good thinking', these statements are intended as antithesis to 48.7bc *yōi ā vayhāuš manayhō dīdrayēō.duyē ašā vyqm* 'Ye who seek to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth'. In this last passage it is clear that *ašā* is employed as a comit. instr. with *vayhāuš manayhō*, since a properly coordinated gen. *ašāhyācā* could not fit metrically. The expression thus stands for ... \**vayhāuš manayhō dīdrayēō.duyē ašāhyācā vyqm*. Note also that *nōiḥ frasayā vayhāuš cāxnarē manayhō* is a variant of 49.2d *naēdā vahū ... fraštā manayhā* 'nor has he taken counsel with good thinking', again referring to the deceitful person.

44.14. *kaθā ašāi drūjām dyqm zastayō* 'How might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth?'. On *dyqm*, metrically \**dyaqm*, cf. 29.5 *hyaḥ mazdqm* etc.

*nī hīm mərəzdyāi θwahyā mąθrāiš sānghahyā* 'in order to destroy it in accordance with the precepts of Thy teaching'. One of the *mąθras* referred to appears at 47.4d *isvācīḥ ḥas paraoš akō drəgvāitē* 'The master of much should be bad to the deceitful one'.

*ōmovaitūn sinqm dāvōi drəgvasū* 'in order to create a powerful schism among the deceitful ones'. Contrast to 30.9bc \**ā \*mōi \*(a)stā baranā ašācā hyaḥ \*haθrā.manā bvaḥ* 'Appear to me with support and truth so that one shall become of common mind (convinced)'. In the same context as 44.14d, cf. also 30.10a *adā zī avā drūjō hvaitī skəndō spayaθrahā* 'For then shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit'.

44.15. *yezī ahyā ašā pōi maḥ xšayehī ... avāiš urvātāiš yā nū mazdā dīdərəēō* 'If Thou hast the mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accord with those precepts which Thou dost seek to uphold ...'. The phrase *avāiš urvātāiš* modifies the inf. *pōi*. Cf. similar syntax in flg. vs. 16b *θwā pōi sānghā* 'to protect in accord with Thy teaching' and in preceding vs. 14c *mərəzdyāi θwahyā mąθrāiš sānghahyā*. Note also

use of instr. in vs. 17de below *būēdyāi ... avā maθrā* 'to endeavor in accord with that precept'.

Equally important is the parallel 46.3ab *kadā ... aṇhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā ārəntē* 'When shall they arise for the maintenance of the world of truth?', for it clearly shows that *ahyā ašā ... maṭ* in 44.15b must be interpreted as 'of the world allied with truth'. Thus a variant of preceding vs. 8d *yācā ašā aṇhāuš arəm vaēdyā* 'and which are to be properly acquired from existence in alliance (harmony) with truth'. On the use of the instr., cf. 32.2; on *ahyā*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc. Note that the fig. *ašā aṇhāuš* or *aṇhāuš ašahyā* is a stylistic alternant of *ašahyā gaēθā* 'creatures of truth' 31.1. In light of this, I also interpret *gaēθā ašā* as 'creatures allied with truth' in 43.6c *yehyā* (= *xšaθrahyā*) *šyaoθanāiš gaēθā ašā frādəntē* 'through the actions of which (rule of good thinking) the creatures allied with truth do prosper'. In vs. 10c above, *ašā* is most likely a *šleṣu*: once with *hacāmnā*, once with *gaēθā*. Thus, *yā* (= *daēnā*) *mōi gaēθā ašā frādōi* *hacāmnā* 'which (conception), in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures allied with truth'.

*hyaṭ hām spādā anaacəṇhā jamaētē* 'when the two hosts who share no wons come together'. *anaacəṇh-* is best translated in view of Ved. *ākas-* 'habit, wont', thus 'sharing no wons'. Meant to correspond to the usual description of the two spirits, none of whose values are in agreement. Cf. 45.2ce *nōiṭ nā manā ... nōiṭ daēnā nōiṭ urvəṇō hacəintē* 'Neither our thoughts ... nor our conceptions, nor our souls are in harmony'.

44.16. *θwā pōi sānghā yōi hanti ciθrā mōi dəm* 'in order to protect in accord with Thy teaching (those) pure ones who exist in my house'. On *θwā pōi sānghā*, cf. preceding vs. The inf. *pōi* governs a suppressed *aēšqm* (cf. *ahyā ... pōi* in vs. 15b), immediately resumed by *yōi hanti*. Similar suppression in 45.6b *yā hudā (aēihyō) yōi hanti* 'who is beneficent to those who exist', 51.10b *duzdā (aēihyō) yōi hanti*. The enigmatic *ciθrā mōi dəm* simply modifies *yōi hanti*, i.e. 'the pure ones who exist in my house' (correct on syntax, Gershevitch 1952. 176). Cf. parallel 48.7cd *nā spəntō / aṭ hōi dāməm θwəhmī ā dəm ahurā* '... the virtuous man, and his bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. Both belong together in the sense that, by his behavior of truth and good thinking, the truthful man is connected both with the community of the faithful in this world and the seat of god in the other world.

*ratūm ciždī aṭ hōi vohū sərəošō jantū manəṇhā* 'Promise us a judge,

and let obedience to him come through good thinking'. For parallel, cf. 47.3c *aṭ hōi \*vāstrē rāmā dā ārmaitim* 'and Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her (= good vision's) pastor'. Point is, for the rule of good thinking and truth to take place in this world, there must be piety and obedience not only to the Lord who created these enduring and noble values, but also to the worldly representative of god, the prophet who shall bring the true message to mankind and therefore save the world.

44.17. *kaθā ... zaram carāni hacā xšmaṭ āskaitim xšmākqm* 'How shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'. Belongs with 29.3bc *avaēšqm nōiṭ viduyē yā šavaitē ādrāng aršvāghō / hātqm hvō aojištō* 'Of yon beings, that strongest one is not to be found through whom the lofty are to activate the the lowly'. *zaram carāni* is aor. subj. of an idiom *zaram kar* (cf. *frō ... caraṭ* 46.4, *antarə.caraiti* 51.1). *zaram* clearly belongs to the root *zr̥* 'anger, be angry', but the combination *zaram kar* 'to enrage' can easily have developed the sense 'enflame, impassion'.

*sarōi būždyāi haurvātā amərətātā / avā mąθrā yā rāθamō ašāṭ hacā* 'to endeavor for alliance with completeness and immortality in accord with that precept which adheres to the truth'. *sarōi* governs the instr. *haurvātā amərətātā*, which are coordinated asyndetically. Cf. 49.9b *nōiṭ arš.vacā sarōm didqṣ drəgvatā* 'The truly-speaking man has not expounded alliance with the deceitful one'. Y. 12.4 *vi daēvāiš ... sarōm mruyē* 'I deny alliance with the gods', etc. The form itself depends upon the inf. *būždyāi* 'to endeavor, strive for', which I have translated in light of *būštīs* 43.8, which should be consulted.

*avā mąθrā* qualifies the inf. *būždyāi* acc. to the practice described in *pōi ... avāiš urvātāiš* in vs. 15 above. The *mąθra* referred to is probably 31.6c *mazdāi avaṭ xšaθram hyaṭ hōi volū vaxšaṭ manajhā* 'Such is rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking'.

44.18. *kaθā ašā taṭ mīždām hanāni / dasū aspā aršnavaitiš uštrəmcā* 'How shall I win through truth this prize: ten mares together with stallions and a camel?'. This seems not to be the payment for Zarathustra's priestly services (so, Lommel 1955, 189 ff.), but a metaphor for a group of diverse adherents to the prophet's message. We learn from the subsequent lines that for Zarathustra to develop such a following (cf. also remarks at vs. 16 above) would mean immortality

and completeness for him in this world, just as AhM. acquired these qualities in the other world. The pointed use of *aspā* and *uštrām* immediately suggests Vištāspa, Jāmāspa and Frašaoštra, and Zarathustra may well have intended to describe their families in this manner. *aršnavaitiš* can designate the plural 'with stallions' as well as the singular 'with a stallion', which is the accepted interpretation of the word.

*hyaṭ mōi mazzdā apivaitī haurvātā amərətātā yaθā hi taihyō dāghā* '(a prize) which is to inspire completeness and immortality in me, Wise One, much as Thou hast received these two for Thyself'. Syntactically it is clear that *mōi ... apivaitī* is parallel to flg. *taihyō dāghā*. Thus it is best to take *apivaitī* (orig. *-vaitē?*) as inf. to *api vat* 'inspire', since it has been made evident that this has not yet occurred (cf. *kaθā ... hanānī* in line b).

44.19. *yastaṭ mīzdam hanautē nōiṭ dāitī | yā ī ahmāi arəzuxdā nā dāitē* 'The person who shall not give that prize to the one winning it, namely, to the man who should receive it in accordance with a promise ...'. Clearly the two *yā*-subjects are different, but the 2nd one simply modifies the preceding part, *hanautē*. The phrase *yā ī ahmāi nā dāitē* is thus standard use of med. *dā* with pron. in the sense 'to receive for oneself' and parallels preceding vs. 18e *yaθā hi taihyō dāghā*. Surely the one who wins a prize should receive it. An opt. *\*dyā* (= *\*dīyā*) would be better than the subj. *dāitē*, but this latter form has been attracted by the preceding subj. *dāitī*.

44.20. *aṭ ī parāsā yōi pišyeintī* (read *\*pišyeintī*) *aēibyō qm* 'I ask this (about them) who lie (betray) to those ...'. *parāsā* requires a 2nd acc. *tāng* referring back to *daēvā* and subsequently resumed by the flg. *yōi*. Cf. double acc. in 31.14a *tā θwā parāsā* 'I ask Thee about these things' and the formula *taṭ θwā parāsā* in this hymn. Similar suppression in 43.10c *parāsācā nā yā ...* 'and counsel us (about those things) which ...'. The reading *pišyeintī* is false for orig. *\*pišyeintī*; cf. 50.2 (3rd para.) for disc. *aēibyō qm* cannot be separated from Ved. *yusmābhyaṃ kām* (RV. I 88.3c), *devēbhyaḥ kām* (X 13.4a), etc. and represents orig. *aēibyō \*kām*. The attested reading *qm* results from the influence of *qm* in the next line. For process, cf. introd. p. 5ff.

*aēibyō \*kām yāiš qm karapā usixscā aēšāmāi dātā yācā kavā* 'to those together with whom the Karpan and Kavi have delivered the cow unto fury, and the Kavi as well'. The unexpressed noun agreeing



with *aēibyō* ... *yāiš* is certainly *dalīyāuš yāi sāstārā drāgvantā* 'the deceitful rulers of the land' in 46.1d. This is implicit in the choice of the term *huxšaθrā* in line a of this vs., for it evokes 48.10d *dušaxšaθrā dalīyunqm*, which appears as a qualification of those people associated with the *karapanā* in 48.10. Also one expects the mention of the collaboration between the deceitful rulers and the deceitful priests. On the coordination *karapā usixscā* ... *yācā kavā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyatcā* etc. for *dise*. This compound subject governs the verb form *dātā*, which stands for orig. 3pl. *\*datā*. The lengthening of first vowel shows normalization effects of freq. impv. *dātā* elsewhere in the text. Same effect also appears in *mərəždātā* 33.11 for *\*mərəždatā*. Cf. introd. p. 13f.

*qmānē/i urūdāyatā* is totally unclear.

*nōiṭ hīm mizān ašā vāstrəm frādaijē*. I follow Geldner's conjecture (1926, 3 fn 11) of *\*izān* for *\*mizān*. This allows establishment of an antithesis with 31.16ab *yō hūdāmuš dāmanahyā xšaθrəm ... ašā \*fradaθāi.ā \*spərəzatā* 'the blessed one who (shall appear) with eagerness to prosper the rule of the house ... with truth'. Thus translate: 'They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage with truth'. Intended, of course, is the notion that the deceitful priests have in no way been willing to accept the good vision or those who belong to its following, since they are still allied with the worship of the old gods. This is essentially the theme of 46.1-4. The form *izān* is thus root aor. of *iz* 'be eager', contrasting with pres. 1sg. *izvā* 33.6, 49.3. On false doubling of *m*, cf. *aēšəm.mahyā* for *\*aēšmahyā* 48.12.

## Yasna 45

This lyric has two basic themes which are recurrent motifs in the Gāthās. The first concerns good and evil (2), and the choice between the two which has been left to each man's decision (9). The second is dependent upon the first and is involved with the consequences of the selection of the good. Such a preference entails the repulsion of the evil spirit and its followers (1, 11), and the offering of piety and obedience to the Wise One (3, 5, 10-11) manifested through good thinking (6, 9-10) and through good actions (3-5), as well as through reverence and worship of the lord (8, 10). This proper behavior amid men in this world shall move the Wise Lord to reveal his intentions (6) and to offer care and attention to his followers (7). As a result, earthly and heavenly salvation shall be granted to the truthful (5, 7, 9), and the Wise One shall assume his rightful power (5) and attain his fitting immortality and completeness, which grow increasingly stronger through the faith and belief of every follower.

The whole poem is addressed to Zarathustra's adherents, and its purpose is to teach the basic precepts concerning the nature and importance of faith and devotion to the Wise Lord as well as the prophet's penetrating view of the interdependency of the power of god and the actions of those who believe in him. This end is accomplished by a remarkably complex and increasingly dramatic presentation of ideas in the Gāthā, whose message is also sharpened and heightened for those listening through the technique of presenting its disclosures in the form of citations from the direct words of god and his forces.

Verse 1 immediately focuses attention on the evil spirit, the chief adversary. Alluding to the earlier ruin of the world by the false choice of the ways of deceit by the traditional gods (30.6), the verse warns against a second ruin of this earthly existence by a similar wrong choice by mankind, encouraged by the persuasive eloquence of the evil spirit. The reason for the rejection of this force of evil is then explained in the following verse: He opposes in every conceivable fashion the values and methods represented by the virtuous spirit, which is the motivating force of the Wise Lord. Thus there must be, in consequence of this understanding, piety for the Wise Lord if this earthly world is to survive. This is the theme of verse 3, and its conception is formulated in terms of a threat, for those who shall not

obey the precepts of the true god shall be damned at the end of their lives. By implication, there also exists the second threat that choosing the deceitful road of the evil spirit shall also bring on a damnation in life through the forewarned total ruin of existence, precipitating a hell on earth.

Verses 4-7 now change the point of view from the somber and the destructive to the positive and the creative. Yes, there must be piety for the Wise Lord and obedience to his commands, because (4) none but he created truth and good thinking, and even the conception of piety (cf. also 44.7). None but he can offer completeness and immortality to his worshipers (5), insofar as these rewards have been lost to all others (cf. 32.5). None but he possesses in full measure the true essence of this virtuous spirit, which drives him to be beneficent and kind to those who exist (6), by offering solicitude and the means of salvation to mankind. None but he possesses the creative powers to dispose as he wishes (7).

Returning to a brief yet important formulation of verse 5 which states that the Wise One assumes his lordship through the awakening of good spirit in mankind, verses 8-10 describe such acts of good spirit in the complementary notions of the sacred enactment of praise and glory, of propitiation and prayer for god and the profane enactment of good thinking, decisiveness and truth in the world of men. For what the Wise Lord has accomplished by reason of his good spirit (8), man also can accomplish on earth through the application of truth and good thinking (9). This will bring prosperity to mankind, offering a worldly type of salvation (9), and yet will strengthen the power of god himself in its fullness (10), whereby he can offer future salvation to the just.

Verse 11 describes the aforementioned beneficent acts as the most effective means to oppose the forces of deceit and the evil spirit, thus resuming the first theme of this Gāthā, and then concludes with the profound notion that any man who acts in this world with good spirit and with such a virtuous conception of the potential good in his own powers does indeed approach the essence of god.

45.1. (*sraotā*) *nū im vīspā ciθrā zī mazdāyihō.dūm* '(Listen) now to this (precept), all of you! Because it is clear, bear it in mind'. The masc. forms *im* and *ciθrā* require *māθrām*, obvious from flg. vs. 3c *yōi im vā nōi! iθā māθrām varāšōutī* and hinted at by the use of *duš.sastiš* in line d. The *māθra* follows in the next 2 lines. Consequently, *vīspā* must be voc., construed with the impv. forms *gūšō.dūm* and *sraotū*.

*nōiṭ daibitīm dzuš.sastiš ahūm mərəšyāṭ* 'Let not the one of evil doctrine destroy the world for a second time'. *duš.sastiš* and the flg. *dragvā* refer to *anrō mainyuš*, appearing in the next vs. In general, cf. 31.15, where all his epithets are listed. The first ruin of the world (existence) was the wrong choice which the gods previously made (cf. 30.6); the second ruin would be the same false choice in favor of deceit by all of mankind.

*akā varanā dragvā hizvā āvərətō* 'the deceitful one turned hither with his tongue and its evil preference'. *āvərətō* is past part. of *ā var* 'turn hither', on which cf. 28.5 *rāurōimaidi*. Note Ved. parallels in RV. I 87.4ab *yūvā gaṇḍāḥ ... iśānās tāviṣibhir āvṛtaḥ* 'The youthful and masterly troop (of Maruts) has turned hither with its powers', III 3.5c *vigāhānī tūṛṇi tāviṣibhir āvṛtam*, etc.

45.2. *yayā sparayā ūti mravaṭ yām angrəm* 'of which two, the virtuous (spirit) would have thus said to the evil one'. *mravaṭ* is subj. employed in a preterite context. Its function is to express an action which could have taken place, and it therefore approaches the future value of the subj. which also describes an action not yet begun but envisioned in the mind of the speaker. Cf. also 43.12cd *parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ sərəošō* 'before obedience was to come to me'.

45.3. *aṭ fravaxšyā aghəuš ahyā paourvīm yəm mōi ... vaocaṭ ahurō* 'Now I shall speak of the foremost (doctrine) of this existence, which the Lord told to me'. I take *paourvīm yəm* to refer to a suppressed *sastīm*, since the notion of 'foremost doctrine' is intended to contrast with *duš.sastiš* in preceding vs. Id. Thus *paourvīm* stands in place of orig. *\*paourvyəm*; replacement has occurred because of the appearance of *paourvīm* in final position of the verse line at 43.5.8, 11, 44.2. For this process of normalization, cf. introd. p. 14ff.

*yōi im vā nōiṭ iθā mąθrəm varəšənti yaθā im mənāicā vaocacā ...* 'Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept now exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ...'. This begins a direct quotation of AhM. to Zarathustra referred to above by *yəm mōi ... vaocaṭ ahurō*. The pron. *im* in *im ... mąθrəm* needs not mean 'this precept', but can have temporal force as freq. in Ved. Cf. RV. II 35.2ab *imāṇ sv āsmai hṛdā ā sūtaṣtam, māntraṇ vocema kuvid asya vėdat* 'May we now speak well to him the prayer, well fashioned from our heart. Will he take heed of it?'; etc. Lines cde of our vs. 45.3 here explain that the 'foremost doctrine' is *ārmaitiš* 'piety' for the lord and his rule,

a view conforming to the remarks made at 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varədaīti ārmaitiš*. In terms of the hymn itself, the precept contained in AhM.'s words has been quoted by Zarathustra as an enforcement to the notion appearing in above vs. 1 : obey only AhM., never *angrō mainyuš*.

45.4. *aṇhəuš ahyā vahištəm ašāṭ hacā* 'the best thing of this existence in accord with truth'. The phrase *vahištəm ašāṭ hacā* is a stylistic variant of *vahištəm ašəm*, which appears in 28.8a *ašā vahištā hazaošəm*, YH. 35.5 *ašāicā vahištāi*, YH. 37.4 *ašəm aṭ vahištəm*. This is made evident by the subsequent reference in the vs. to *volū manō, ārmaitiš* and *ahurō*. Similar usage most likely also in 51.22a *yehyā mōi ašāṭ hacā vahištəm yesnē paiti* '(I know) in whose worship there exists for me the best in accordance with truth', again for *ašəm vahištəm*. Cf. also 49.12 *avaṭ yāsqs* etc. for further disc.

*mazdā vaēdā yə im dāṭ / ptarəm* (K<sub>5</sub>, Mf<sub>1,2</sub>) *vayhəuš varəzayantō manayhō* 'I know the Wise One who created it to be the Father of effective good thinking'. The var. voc. *mazdā* is impossible since the first 10 vss. of this hymn are addressed to Zarathustra's followers, not to AhM. An acc. *mazdān*, agreeing with flg. *ptarəm*, would be correct syntactically, but the form has been attracted into the nom. case because of the subsequent phrase *yə im dāṭ*. Cf. Lat. type *patronus qui vobis fuit futurus perdidistis* for expected *patronum* (Plautus, *Asinaria* 621).

The acc. *im* seems to me to stand for *ašəm* mentioned in the same line, since 31.8bc *vayhəuš ptarəm manayhō ... haiθim ašahyā dānūm* clearly belongs to the locutions *yə im dāṭ* and *ptarəm vayhəuš ... manayhō* in 45.4 here. Thus *im* is probably for orig. *\*iṭ*, changed in the course of time to *im* under the influence of *im* (2x) in the preceding vs. Cf. introd. p. 9.

Lines b (2nd part) though e are a *mqθra* of the type 28.6, namely, a solemn avowal made on the part of the believer of his faith in his lord.

45.5. *hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntō.təno* 'what the most virtuous one told to me'. The *spəntō.təno* is certainly *spəntō mainyuš*, for the next phrase *hyaṭ* (= *vacō*) *marətaēiḃyō vahištəm* 'the word which is the best for men' refers back to 43.15c *daxšaṭ nīyā \*tušnā.maitiš vahištā* '(when) the meditative one (= *spəntō mainyuš*) revealed to me the best things to be said'. Note also the juxtaposition *mašyaēšū ... hyaṭ mōi mraoṭā vahištəm* in 43.11de which parallels line b *vacō srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēiḃyō vahištəm* here.

*yōi mōi ahmāi saraosəm dan cayasā* 'Those who shall give obedience and regard to this (Lord) of mine ...'. The prons. *mōi* and *ahmāi* must refer to two different people, for the final 3 lines of this vs. are certainly a citation of words of the *spəntō mainyuš* spoken at one time to Zarathustra. They are, in effect, a paraphrase of the spirit's words 43.16d *x'āng.dar-asō xsəθrōi hīyāi ārmaitiš* 'May there be piety under the rule of Him of sunlike appearance (= AhM.)', which stress the point that obedience and regard must be given to AhM. Never do we find mention that these acts of faith are to be paid directly to the *spəntō mainyuš*. Thus the fig. *mōi ahmāi* should be compared with 47.2a *ahyā mainyēuš spəntištahyā vahištām* 'the best for His virtuous spirit', where the gens. also refer to different base nouns.

*vayhēuš mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurō* 'The Wise One is Lord through such actions stemming from good thinking'. On the fig. *vayhēuš mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš*, cf. 34.10. The line belongs with 47.1d *mazdā xsəθrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'The Wise One in rule is Lord by reason of (our) piety', where the syntax is discussed. Parallels of the context of the present line appear at 47.2.

45.6. *vispanqm mazīstām* 'the greatest of all' refers to AhM., obvious from line b *yā hūdā yōi hanti* and the use of *mazdā ahurō* at the end of line c. The presentation of the personages in vss. 4-6 follows a specific order of importance: *ašəm*, *vohū manō* and *ārmaitiš* (4), *spəntō mainyuš* (5), *ahurō mazdā* (6).

*sraotū mazdā ahurō* etc. Starting here and continuing through the whole of the next vs., these lines are also best interpreted as a *maθra* of the type described in vs. 4 above.

*yā hūdā yōi hanti spəntō mainyū* 'who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of his virtuous spirit'. For disc. of the use of *spəntō mainyū*, which ends the sentence here, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc. 29.7b *hvē mrušaēihyō spəntō sāsnayā* 'He is virtuous to the needy in accordance with his commandment (instruction)' presents the identical word order. *yā hūdā* etc. is antithesis to 51.10b *tā duždā yōi hanti* 'thereby malevolent to those who exist', referring to the deceitful.

*ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsūt vahištā* 'Let Him instruct (command) me in His best intentions'. In view of the instr. *xraθwā* 31.7, 48.3, 53.3, it seems best to take *xratū ... vahištā* as a neut. pl. dependent upon *sāsūt*. The root *sāh* governs a double acc.; cf. 44.1 *sahyāt*.

45.7. *yehyā savā išāntī rādayhō* 'whose (means of) salvation they

shall seek, of the One offering solicitude'. Structure of the line resembles 28.1a *ahyā (taṭ) yāsā ... rafəδrahyā*, where first and final words of the line refer to the same entity. Thus *rādayhō* stands as epithet for AhM. and conforms to normal usage of gen. of *-ah*-stems employed in possessive, adj. value.; cf. 32.11 *raēxənah-* and 43.3. Same interpretation of *rādayhō* also necessary in 46.17ac *yaθrā vā ... sənghāni ... vahmāng ... rādayhō* 'where I shall teach to you the glories of Him who offers solicitude', where the word again refers to AhM. (*yā ... mazdā ahurō*). On *išānti*, cf. 30.1 *išāntō*. *rādah-* 'solicitude' is discussed at 28.7 (end).

*utāyūtā yā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō* is difficult, but the use of *nərəqš drəgvatō* shows that it is intended to contrast with the preceding *amərətāiti ašaonō urvā aēšō* 'The soul of the truthful man is to be strong in immortality'. Subsequently, I propose to emend to *utāyūtā \*ā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō* 'Woes are to befall the deceitful men in an enduring fashion'. Note that the use of the acc. *nərəqš drəgvatō* is parallel to that to *tām* and *im* in 44.19d *kā tām ahyā maēniš ayhaṭ paouruyē* 'Which punishment of his shall first befall him?' and 44.19e *yā im ayhaṭ apāmā* 'which final one shall befall him'. Thus *utāyūtā \*ā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō* is of the same structure, but with the form of *ah* suppressed in common fashion. On *nərəqš*, cf. 44.4.

*tācā xsəθrā mazdā dāniš ahurō* 'These things, too, the Wise Lord created by reason of His rule (over everything)'. This is a final tag sentence to verse. Similar usage in 44.3e (final) *tāciṭ mazdā vasami anyācā vihyē* 'These things indeed, Wise One, and others, too, I wish to know'. Cf. also 46.9e (final) *tā tōi vohū manayhā*.

45.8. *tām nō staotāiš nəmanhō ā.vivarəšō* 'I shall try to turn Him hither to us with praises of reverence'. *ā.vivarəšō* belongs to *ā var* 'turn hither' and consciously refers back to *drəgvā ... āvərətō* in above vs. i.e. the point being, let AhM. come hither, not the evil spirit. For disc. of the root *var* 'turn', cf. 28.5 *vāwōimaidi*. Good support for interpretation also from Ved. parallels. Cf. RV. VII 84.1ab *ā vāṃ rājānāv adhvare vavṛtyām ... nāmobhiḥ* 'May I turn you two, kings, hither to our ceremony with reverence', I 52.1d *ēndraṃ vavṛtyām āvase svyktibhiḥ* 'May I turn Indra hither for help with good songs', etc.

*vyādarəsam : vāyhōuš mainyōuš šyaoθanahyā uxθahyācā | viduš ašā yām mazdān ahurəm* 'I have discerned, knowingly with truth, the Wise One to be the Lord of the action and word stemming from good spirit'. On the syntax of *vāyhōuš mainyōuš* (abl.) *šyaoθanahyā uxθahyācā*, cf. 34.10. The form *viduš* is adverbial; cf. 28.4 *ašīscā šyaoθananəm* etc.

Note also that the sequence *yām mazdām ahurām* is an inversion of the expected izafe construction *\*ahurām yām mazdām*, reversed in order to permit the rel. pron. to occupy the position immediately following the caesura. Cf. remarks 44.12.

45.9. *yā nā usān cōraṭ spāncā aspāncā*. Translations of the type 'der uns nach seinem Willen Vorteil und Nachteil schuf' (Lommel 1971. 125) cannot be correct, simply because *kar* never means 'create, etc.'. Also the point is misunderstood: AhM. did not arbitrarily create good and evil for men. Rather, he left it to their choice to select between the two possibilities which were already existent (cf. 30.3 etc.). Therefore it is clear that *usān kar* is an idiom 'to put or leave to one's wish or will', and that the line must mean 'who left to our wish (will) the virtuous and the unvirtuous', namely, '... to our wish (to choose between) the v. and the unv.'. *usān* thus appears to be loc. of a stem *usan-* 'wish'; cf. gen. pl. *usnqm* Y. 10.13. Similar syntax in OP. DB IV 35 *pasāva diš Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš* 'Afterwards AhM. put them into my hand'.

*mazdā xšaθrā varāzi nā dyaṭ ahurō* 'May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness'. On the fig. *mazdā xšaθrā*, cf. 47.1 (final para.). Because of the proximity of *varāšanti* in vs. 3 above and of the fig. *vañhāuš varāzayantō manayhō* in vs. 4 above, *varāzi* here certainly is best interpreted as loc. of a root noun *varaz-* 'effectiveness'. The form *dyaṭ* is discussed at 29.5 *dyaidd*.

*vañhāuš ašā haozqθiwāṭ ā manayhō* 'in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth'. Parallels of the syntactic usage of *haozqθiwāṭ ā* appear at 31.21 *hūrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāṭ*. On *haozqθiva-*, cf. 43.3 (2nd para.).

45.10. *tām nā yasnāiš ārmatāiš mimayzō* 'I shall try to glorify Him with prayers of piety'. *mimayzō* belongs with Ved. *mahāyati* 'extols, glorifies', which is employed in similar contexts. Cf. RV. VIII 3.16cd *īndram stāmebhir mahāyanta āyāvaḥ, priyāmedhāso asvaran* 'Extolling Indra with praises, the A.'s and the P.'s have raised their voices', V 31.4c *brahmāṇa indram mahāyanta arkāḥ* 'The priests extolling Indra with songs ...', etc. Note that the fig. *yasnāiš ārmatāiš* belongs with *stātāiš nāmayhō* in vs. 8a, and both therefore follow the usual juxtaposition of *yaz* and *stu* listed at 33.8.

*hyaṭ hāi ašā volucā cōiš manayhā | xšaθrāi hōi haurvātā amərətātā* 'What one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to



be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule'. Theme of good thinking and truth of men granting strength and life to the lord. Cf. 47.1, where diction is almost the same and where parallels of this motif are discussed.

*ahmāi stōi \*dqm* (Mss. *dqn*) *təvišī utayūiti* 'are to be these two enduring powers for Him in His house'. *\*dqm* certainly should be restored here, since in this parallel clause we expect a loc. parallel to preceding *xšaθrōi*. The reading *dqn* stems from 47.1c *ahmāi dqn haurvātā amaratātā*, owing to the similarity in wording. On this principle, cf. introd. p. 12. Support also from the use of *dñg patōiš* in the next verse referring to AhM.

45.11. *yastā daēvāng aparō mašyascā tarō.mqstā* 'The person who, in this way, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals ...'. The repeated, unseparated usage of *daēvāiscā mašyāiscā* 29.4b, 48.1c and of *daēvāiscā xrafstrāiš mašyāiscā* 34.5c suggests that *aparō* here also modifies *daēvāng* and *mašyascā* rather than preceding *yas-*. Thus I interpret the form as acc. pl. of a root noun *ā-par-* 'guilty', and call attention to the fig. *daēva \*āparō* (nom. pl.) at FrG. On meaning, cf. yAv. *pāra-* 'guilt' and the disc. at 49.1 *pafrē*. Orthography *aparō* for *\*āparō* follows usual pattern of writing initial *ā* in short form.

*saošyantō dñg patōiš ... mazdā ahurā* requires. gen. pron. *tōi* supplied to *dñg patōiš*. For disc., cf. 43.8 (3rd para.).

## Yasna 46

This Gāthā appears to consist of two originally distinct works. The first part, comprising verses 1-11, deals with Zarathustra's search for refuge and support, and the second part, embracing the final 8 verses, treats of subjects following the prophet's acceptance by his patron, the nobleman Vishtaspa. It is exactly the two themes of the search for support and recognition and their subsequent attainment which have motivated the fusion of both independent works into one transmitted hymn.

Part I. In verses 1 and 2 Zarathustra laments to his god that he cannot fulfill the lord's teachings, since he has been rejected by all levels of his society. Moreover, in that the prophet is himself too poor to assemble a following of his own to champion the moral and spiritual values of his god, he is at a double disadvantage and consequently extremely depressed. Thus he must flee, and the Wise One must come to the aid of his prophet in the recognition that Zarathustra is a devoted ally of his god and of the elevated moral principles of truth and good thinking which the Wise Lord upholds. For such heavenly help is needed if these good and virtuous values are to be promoted in the world of man (3). There do exist those who would promote these and who would rally to the cause of good in this world, but they have been prevented from uniting in this true and just purpose by the hindering and destructive forces of deceit (4).

The following verses 5 and 6 are concerned with the principles of hospitality and reception, and are mentioned by Zarathustra in the hope that someone might receive and accept him during his flight. Thus they resume the initial motif which dominates the first verse. Verses 7 and 8 then ask for protection from any threat or danger that might be enacted against the prophet by the deceitful and evil spirit or any mortals who belong to his hateful cause, all of this apparently during Zarathustra's search for a patron. And in verses 9 and 10, by contrast, the prophet asks whether there shall be some sincere person who might aid him to realize the true honor which the Wise Lord merits and to bring to fulfillment what is best for existence, namely, the rule of truth and of good thinking. Thus man shall render his fitting service to god in both the sacred and profane spheres of life.

Verse 11 reaffirms the fact that the Kavis and the Karpans have undermined these true principles of existence and have therefore been damned to hell. Their condemnation in this verse resembles the content of 32.15 (next to last verse) and 44.20 (final verse), and thus clearly indicates that 46.11 is almost certainly the conclusion of one independent lyric.

Part II. This group of verses deals with those people who accepted Zarathustra and his teachings, and also describes the benefits which they obtained or were to obtain from following his precepts. The prophet's supporters were Friyana the Turanian and his offspring, who came to understand the truth and therefore showed their devotion to the Wise Lord through their good thinking (12). Vishtaspa, the prophet's chief patron (14) and his advisors, the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa of the Haugva family (16-17). The Haecataspa branch of the Spitama family (15). Their piety and devotion to the Lord (16-17) were to quicken the advent of truth and good thinking (13, 16), those values which were to bring prosperity and fame in this world (18-19) as well as in the next one (14, 19).

46.1. *kam namōi zqm* 'To what land to flee?'. Syntax follows the Ved. type represented by RV. I 164.17c *kāṃ svid ārdham pūrāgāt* 'To what quarter has she fled?'.  
*pairi x'aētāuš airyamauascā dadaiti* 'Thy exclude (me) from my family and from my clan'. *pairi dā* means 'exclude' and functions as antonym to med. *dā* 'accept, receive'. For disc., cf. 31.19.

*nōi mā xšnuuš yā vərədnuā hēcā* 'The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me'. The subject of *xšnuuš* is *vərədnuam*, which has been attracted into the Illg. rel. clause. Similar syntax in 28.7c *dāstū ... yā vā nqθrā srəvimā rādā*, where *nqθram* is obj. of *dās* but has moved into rel. clause. Note also YH. 40.4 *x'aētāuš ... vərədnuā ... haxdunq ... yāiš hišcanaidē* 'The families, communities, associations with which we associate'.

The form *hēcā* is not 1sg. pres. subj. of *hac* 'follow' (so, HH. 1959, II 67), nor aor. subj., for we expect a preterite parallel to preceding *xšnuuš*. Therefore I explain *hēcā* as arising by haplology from *\*hāhēcā* (orig. *\*hahaca*), 1sg. perf., a form supplying the lacking syllable after the caesura. Such a form is advantageous, because the pattern of med. pres. *hacaitē* 34.2 etc. and med. aor *haxsāi* 46.10 below contrasting with act. perf. *\*hahaca* thus fits well with the archaic Ved. type *pādyate āpādi papāda* (*pad* 'fall'), *mrīyāte amṛta mamāra* (*mṛ* 'die'), etc. (cf. SI. 1968b, 324 fn 20).

46.2. *mā kamnāšvā hyaṭcā kamnānā ahmī* 'By my condition of having few animals, as well as (that) I am a person with few man'. On *hyaṭcā* 'as well as', cf. 28.2 *astvataścā hyaṭcā*. The combination of *pasu-* and *nar-* here replaces the usual juxtaposition *pasu-: vīra-* (e.g. 31.15c *pasāuš vīraṭcā*), but it is also encountered at Y. 4.5 *fradaθāi ahe nmānahe pasvairica narairica*. Vd. 13.32 *pasūm ... naram \*raēšayāi* (Mss. *raēšyāi*).

*gərəzāi tōi ā: iṭ vaēnā ahurā* 'I lament to Thee. Take notice of it, Lord'. I correct the meter before the caesura by adding a 2nd *ā* after *tōi* (similarly, Kuiper 1964b, 86 fn 4). Cf. introd. p. 18.

*āxsō vaṇhōuš ašā īstīm manayhō* 'Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth'. *āxsō* is jussive inf. to the aor. *xsāi* 28.4 from *ā xsā* 'look upon, see' (= Ved. *ā khyā*). The Rīg. hapax *ā ... akhyat* (IV 2.18a) also still means 'look upon' (not 'tell, relate' as in later texts). Syntax of *vaṇhōuš ašā īstīm manayhō*, with *ašā* as comit. instr. with *vaṇhōuš manayhō*, belongs with exx. discussed at 43.2 *ašā vaṇhōuš māyā manayhō*. In general, the import of this line corresponds to 43.4ae *aṭ θivā mānghāi taxmām ... hyaṭ mōi vaṇhōuš hazō jimaṭ manayhō* 'I shall recognize Thee to be brave if the force of good thinking shall come to me'.

46.3. *kodā mazdā yōi uxšānō asnqm | aṇhōuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā ārantē* 'When, Wise One, shall the bulls of the heavens rise forth for the maintenance of the world of truth?'. Interpretation is dependent upon the parallel 44.15bd *yezī ahyā ašā pōi maṭ xšayelū | avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā didarəzō* '(Tell me) if Thou hast the mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accordance with those commandments which Thou indeed dost seek to uphold, Wise One'. For this latter vs. clearly shows that *uxšānō asnqm* must be AhM. and his forces, as does the freq. use of the root *ar* with gods in Ved. Cf. RV. VII 39.3a *jmayā ātra vāsavo ranta devāḥ* 'The good gods shall rise across the earth here', etc. Consequently, *uxšānō asnqm* surely means 'the bulls of the heavens', with *asnqm* gen. pl. of *asan-* 'heaven' rather than of *azar/n-* 'day'. The difference in treatment between *asnqm* here and yAv. gen. sg. *ašnō* also appears in *vasnā* 'according to wish' and OP. *vašnā*, etc. Note, too, the reference to the gods in the RV. as *ukṣāṇas*: cf. I 105.10ab *amī yē pāncokṣāṇo, mādhye tasthūr mahō divāḥ* 'Yon five bulls who stand in the midst of great heaven', III 7.7cd *ukṣāṇo ajuryā devāḥ* 'the bulls, the unaging gods'. These expressions cannot be a reference to the dawns, which require a feminine attribute as always.

Note also that the sequence here of 46.2e *āxsō vaijhāuš ašā ištīm manajhō* and flg. 46.3b *ajhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā ārəntē* directly corresponds to 43.1cd *\*utayūitūm tavišim gaṭ.tōi vasamī ašam dərəidyāi* 'I wish for enduring strength to come in order to uphold the truth'.

*varəzdāiš sānghāiš saošyantəm xratavō* 'The intentions of those who shall save are in accord with Thy mature teachings'. *varəzdāiš sānghāiš* resumes the theme of 44.16b *kā varəθram.jā θwā pōi sānghā yōi hantī* 'Who shall smash the obstacle (of deceit) in order to protect, in accordance with Thy teaching, those who exist?', where it is made clear that the person to do this belongs to this world (*ratūm ciždī*). Thus it appears certain to me that the *saošyantō* here refer to the community of the faithful, who are referred to metaphorically as *ašahyā važdrəng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in the next vs. For further disc., cf. 30.10 *asištā yaojantē* etc. and 48.12. In the first 3 lines of 46.3 here Zarathustra simply says: When will the immortals appear to uphold truth in this world? For the faithful are ready and adhere to the teachings of the lord. The next vs. clarifies the point that AhM. must come with his forces to bring this about, since the truthful men are unable to accomplish this alone. Cf. Addenda to 28.1.

*maihyō* is certainly 'to me?', for it corresponds to the preceding question word *kaēihyō* 'to whom?'.

*θwā sastrā varəntē ahurā* 'I choose (only) Thy teachings, Lord' pointedly shows to AhM. that Zarathustra is one of the *saošyantō* in that he follows the precepts of AhM. On reading *sastrā*, cf. introd. p. 5.

46.4. *ašahyā važdrəng ... gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' is a metaphor for the faithful, those who do the labor of truth in this world. Cf. preceding vs. and 30.10 (final para.), where similar metaphors are mentioned.

*dužazōbā* *has* 'being difficult to challenge'. Kuiper's recent attempt (1973, 194 ff.) to explain *dužazōbā* as the normal development of an underlying *\*dužzuvāh* cannot be accepted, since the contraction of the sequence *\*-zuvā-* results in *-zvā-* in Avestan and never in *\*-zbā-*. Cf. the enlargement of *hižū-* 'tongue' as *\*hižū-ā-* resulting in *hižvā-* (not *\*hižbā-*) and note Benveniste's appropriate remarks (1954b, 30 f.) Therefore *dužazōbā* must contain an orig. cluster *\*-zuvā-* > *\*-zbā-*. Secondly, a svarabhakti vowel never appears between two sibilants in Avestan: cf. Gāth. *duš.sasti-* *duš.šyaoθana-*, yAv. *duš.sanha-* *duž-zuotar-*. Therefore *-a-* in this word must represent orig. *-a-* or *-ā-*. Since only *-ā-* is possible, we are back to Bthlm.'s *duž.āzbā-*. The use of

*āzbā-* is in no way astonishing, as K. would have us believe, when compared with Ved. *āhū-*, but parallels the difference between Ved. *hūtā-*, *-havītu-* and Av. *-zbāta-*, *zbātar-*. For the meaning, however, I connect the word with the Ved. use of *ā hū* in the sense 'challenge': cf. RV. I 32.6a *b ayaddhēva dūrmāda ā hi jūivē mahāvīrām ...* 'As if he had no (real) combatant, in his severe folly he challenged the great hero'. The attribution of *dužazōhā hys* 'being difficult to challenge' to *angrō mainyuš* thus explains why the evil spirit has been able to prevent the truthful from arising up to now.

*x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ahāmustō* must be emended to *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš \*ā \*hāmustō* acc. to the remarks at 32.3 *yāiš asrūdūm*. The resulting *\*hāmustō* should represent a concept related to 'difficult to challenge', and I thus ascribe to it the meaning 'contentious, belligerent'. Consequently, I derive the form from *\*ham-us-tata-*, which syncopated to *hāmusta-*; for meaning cf. etymologically related Lat. *contendere*.

*yastām xšaθrāḥ ... mōiθaḥ* 'who(ever) shall expel him from rule'. *mōiθaḥ* is aor. subj. of *mit* 'throw'; on *-θ-* for *-t-*, cf. 33.2 *vayhāu vā cōiθaitē*.

*hvō tāng \*frō \*gā* (Mss. *frō.gā* etc.) *paθmāng lucistōiš caraḥ* 'he shall free these oxen for the flight of good understanding'. *frō.gā* cannot mean 'Vorstieren' (HH.) or 'voranschreitend' (Bthlm.), since the combining form of *gao-* is *-gu-* at the end of a cmpd. (cf. OP. *θataguš* like Ved. *saptāgu-*) and since *fra-* cannot be employed in place of *parō* in cmpds. (cf. *parō.darās-* 'cock' like Ved. *puro-yūdh-* etc.). Furthermore, we expect from the context that the person who shall expel the deceitful one shall therefore free the draft oxen which the evil spirit has kept suppressed. Consequently, the sequence *frō.gā ... caraḥ* must be separated into *\*frō \*gā ... caraḥ* and the combination *frō caraḥ* compared with Ved. *prā kṛ* 'reveal, free'. Cf. RV. IX 15.7ac *etām mṛjanti mārjyam, pracakrāṇām mahīr iṣaḥ* 'They cleanse this (Soma) that must be cleansed, freeing its great powers'; VIII 3.5a *prā cakre sāhasā sāhaḥ* 'Forcefully he revealed (loosed) his force', etc. In our passage *lucisti-* 'good understanding' is probably a stylistic variant for *vayuhī daēnā* 'the good conception'.

46.5. *yā vā xšayqs adqs drītā ayantām* 'Whoever verily is master of a house should respectfully receive the person coming (to him)'. *adqs* is a redactional change from orig. *\*ā \*dqs*, and thus allows the correspondence of *ā ... drītā* with Ved. med. *ā dṛ* 'respect, honor (a guest)', as Thieme (1938, 152 fn 2) correctly explained. Cf. ŠBr. 2.3.3.8

*yáthā haivāsmiṃ lokē nā saṃyātām ādriyāte* 'as in this world one does not receive his rival (as a guest) ...'. The problematic gen. *dqs*, however, simply belongs with preceding *xšayqs*, i.e. *xšayqs ... dqs* 'the master of a house', for this expression is the equiv. of *dāng patōiš* 45.11. Cf. introd. p. 16 f.

*rašnā jvqs yā ašavā dragvantām / vīcirō haqs ...* 'Which (= if a) truthful person, living by this directive, discerns him to be deceitful ...'. *rašnā* (orig. *\*rāšnā*; cf. *rāzarē rāšnqm* 34.12) *jvqs* belongs within the rel. clause but has been fronted in favor of Zarathustra's practice to place a rel. pron. in the metrical position following the caesura. Cf. 44.12.

This verse has been misunderstood in that there are really two ideas present, which have not been properly brought to light. The first is that a house-lord should welcome any person coming to his house to whom he is obligated in consequence of any sort of formal agreement. This is the prime directive (*\*rāšnā jvqs*), and its lack of fulfillment is condemned in the following verse. The second point is that, if he recognizes his guest to be a deceitful person, he must announce this fact to his family, lest this deceitful person bring any harm upon them by trying to seduce them into the ways of deceit.

46.6. *aī yastām nōiṭ nā isamno āyāt*. This must represent a contrast to the preceding line vs. 5a. since most terms correspond, save the neg. *nōiṭ*, viz. *yā: yas*, *xšayqs: nā isamno*, *ayantām: āyāt*. Thus the line clearly requires *ā drītā* again and stands for an underlying *\*aī yastām nōiṭ nā isamno ā.drītā yā alimāi āyāt* 'But which able man (= rich enough) would not receive him who shall come to him ...'. For similar compact diction, cf. 31.9 for parallels. Note that *āyāt* is for orig. *\*āyut*: it transmitted vocalism has been influenced by *gāt* in the next line in identical metrical position. For process, cf. introd. p. 5 ff.

*drūjō hvō dāmqm haēθahyā gāt* 'such a person shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity'. In view of the Rgv. expression *āṇṭasya sētu-* 'the net (trap) of untruth' appearing in VII 65.3a *tā bhūripāśāv āṇṭasya sētū* 'the two thick-fettered nets of untruth' and X 67.4b *gūhā tiṣṭhantīr āṇṭasya sētau* 'remaining hidden in the trap of untruth', it is clear that *drūjō ... haēθahyā* belongs to the same sphere of ideas. Consequently, it is preferable to interpret *dāmqm* as 'bonds', corresponding to Ved. *dāman-* 'id.'. Similar meaning for *dāmqm* (orig. *\*dāmqm*) in 48.7d *aī hōi dāmqm θvalmī ā dqm ahurā* 'Yes, his bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. For meaning of *haēθa-*, cf. 29.1 *ā ... hišāyā*.

46.7. \**kām.vā* (Mss. *kāmuā*) *mazdā mavaitē pāyūm dadā : hyaṭ mā dragvā \*dādarāsatī* (Mss. *didarāsatā*) *aēnaijē* 'Whom indeed hast Thou appointed as guardian for me, Wise One, if the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall dare to harm me?'. Belongs closest with 50.1b *kā mā.nā θrātā vištō* 'Who has been found to be my protector?'.  
 In view of *yā vā*, which begins vss. 5, 8 and 10, it is most probable that the reading *kāmuā* has replaced an orig. \**kām.vā*. Motivation for the change stems from similarity of *kāmuānā* in vs. 2 above and the above-cited parallel 50.1b *kā mā.nā* (Mss. *kāmuānā kāmūā* etc.). For process, cf. introd. p. 9f. *dragvā* again (cf. above vs. 4) is certainly *angrō mainyuš*; cf. 31.15.

The accepted reading *didarāsatā* cannot be correct, for syntax demands either a subj. or opt. in *hyaṭ*-clauses of future-possible value, as appears in the current passage. Cf. 29.8c *hyaṭ lōi budamām \*dyā* 'if he might receive for himself sweetness', 43.4be *hyaṭ tā zastiā ... avā*, *hyaṭ mōi ... haṣṣ jinaṭ* 'if Thou shalt help with the very hand ... if the force shall come to me', 43.8b *hyaṭ isōyā* 'if I were able', etc. If we note the fact that in the RV. the root *dhṛs* 'dare' is fundamentally attested as a perf. tantum — indic. *dadharṣa*, subj. *dadhārṣat(i)* etc. — then the attested reading *didarāsatā* can be combined with the Ved. verbal forms by emending to \**dādarāsatī*, likewise yielding a proper perf. subj. Here the switch in the vowels must be ascribed to the work of the redactors, who tried to normalize an unusual form following the pattern of the desid. attested in *didarāzō* 44.15 and *didrayzō.duyē* 48.7, which sounded similar. Note also that the form *dīdaijē* 43.11 has been emended to \**dādaijē*. Syntax of *dṛs* with inf. in the fig. \**dādarāsatī aēnaijē* thus the same as in 43.13d *yām vā naēciš dārašt itē* 'to which no one has dared you to accede' (q.v.).

*yayā šyaoθanāiš ašam θraoštā ahurā* 'through the actions of which two one has nourished the truth'. Normal syntax of instr. with impersonal verb of the type 48.1a *ašā drujim vānyhaii* 'one shall defeat deceit with truth', etc. Statement is deliberate stylistic variant of 34.3b *gaēθā vispā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā manajhā* 'all the creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking' and 43.6c *yehyā šyaoθanāiš gaēθā ašā frādantē* 'through the actions of which (rule) the creatures allied with truth do prosper'.

*tqm mōi dastvqm daēnayāi frāvaocā* 'Proclaim this wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception'. Translation follows 53.4ed *manajhā vayhāuš x"ānvaṭ haγhuš ... mazdā dadāṭ ahurō daēnayāi vayhuyāi* 'The Wise Lord shall grant (to her) the sunlike gain of good



thinking for the sake of the good conception'. Final line here resumes the motif of vs. 3: Zarathustra says that if AhM. will guarantee his protection through his fire and good thinking, then Zarathustra shall find the courage to bring the notion of the good vision throughout the world.

46.8. *yā vā mōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnahlē* 'who indeed takes it upon himself to harm those who are my creatures'. Belongs with 31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō ašahyā gaēθā vimərəncaitē* 'who, by reason of the commandments of deceit, destroy the creatures of truth'.

*āθriš šyaoθanāiš* 'the danger (threat) (caused) by his actions'. Content belongs with 34.8a *tāiš zī nā šyaoθanāiš \*byāintī yaēšn as pairi pourubyo iθyejō* 'Because they frighten us with such actions in which there has been danger for many ...'. Use of instr. in *āθriš šyaoθanāiš* is similar to 29.2c *dragvō.dabiš aēšamam* 'fury (caused) by the deceitful'. 48.11c *dragvō.dabiš xrūrāiš \*rəmnam* 'cruelty (caused) by the violent deceitful ones', etc. *āθri-* is of identical meaning to *āθi-*, on which cf. 32.16.

*paityaogaṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ dvaēšayhā*. Because of *gaṭ.tōi* 43.1, *gaṭ.tē* 51.10 and *āgamaṭ.tā* 44.8 for orig. *\*gatōi \*-tē \*āgmatā*, it is clear that *paityaogaṭ tā* should be read as *\*paityaogaṭ.tā* and that the form should originally contain only one *-t-*. This allows interpretation as an instr. with flg. *dvaēšayhā*, whereby the word most probably stands for *\*paityaoxtā*. We thus have the flg. *\*paityaoxtā dvaēšayhā* 'responding enmity, hostility'. The orthography *paityaogaṭ tā* somehow represents the attempt to normalize after *yaogaṭ (\*yuoxt)* 44.4, although the reason for the doubling of *-t-* in all these instances remains unclear. Note, however, that the yAv. occurrence of *paityaogaṭ.tbaēšahya-* Y. 16.8. Yt. 8.51 is falsely modeled after the Gāthic attestation; cf. 32.6 *hātā.marānē*.

Therefore translate: 'May it (= the danger, threat) come back to him with responding enmity'. *paiti* in *\*paityaoxtā* is also meant to govern *jasōiṭ*. For parallel concept, cf. I 147.4 *yō no agne ... marcāyati dvayēna | māntro gurūḥ pūnar astu sō asmā, ānu mṛkṣīṣṭa tanvāni duruktāiḥ* 'Agni, let the heavy spell return to that man who tries to destroy us with falsehood. Let him efface his own person with such evil words'. In general, cf. disc. in Bergaigne (1883, 190 ff.).

*tanvām ā* '(coming) up to his body (person)'. The use of *ā* with the acc. to signify 'up to, as far as' also occurs in *ā nūrānciṭ* in 31.7c *yā ā nūrānciṭ ahurā hāmō* 'Thou who, up to now indeed, hast been the same, Lord'.

*yā im hujyāiōzš pāyāi* '(his person) which could guard him from the good way of life'. *pāyāi* is opt. employed in a preterite context: cf. 29.5 *hyaī mazdqm dyaidi* etc. Since it is the evil person of the deceitful man which hinders him from following the good way of life, namely, the way of truth, it is also clear that in 32.13c *yā iš pāi darasāi asahyā*, the rel. pron. should refer back to *kāma-* 'the lust' (of the deceitful) and not to *mąθrau-* 'the prophet'. It is hard to believe that Zarathustra would ever keep any man from the knowledge of truth. Thus we have: 32.13bc *yaēcā mazdā jigərəzaī / kāmē θwalyā mąθrāuō dūtūm yā iš pāi darasāi asahyā* 'Also those who, in their lust (for riches), Wise One, complained about the message of Thy prophet, a lust which guarded them from the sight of truth'.

46.9. *yā mā ... cōiθaī ... yaθā θwā zəvištīm uzdmōhi* 'who shall enlighten me in which way to respect Thee, the Most Mighty One'. For disc., cf. 33.2 *vayhān vā cōiθaitē astūm*. The loc. inf. *uzdmōhi* (stem *uzama-*) belongs with *uzama-* 'respectful' 44.7. Passage appears to belong with 44.1bc *namayhō ā yaθā namō xsāvaio ... saliyāi mavaitē* 'One should declare to me how reverence for your kind should be from the reverent person'.

*yā tōi asā* 'which things of Thine are in harmony with truth' and *tā tōi volū manayhā* 'those things of Thine in harmony with good thinking' are discussed at 32.2. The phrase *tā tōi volū manayhā* appears as an independent tag, which explains why the demon. pron. is employed in place of the parallel rel. *yā* of the preceding statement. For this practice, cf. 45.7 *tācā xsāθrā* etc. Note also the independent tag *kāciī mazdā dyaēsayhā* at the end of the preceding vs.

46.10. *dāyāī aghēuš yā tū vōistā vahištā* '... would grant to me those things which Thou knowest to be best for existence (this world)'. *aghēuš ... vahištā* is a type of obj. gen.: parallels of this fig. are listed at 44.10 *yā hātqm vahištā*.

*ašam asāi volū xsāθrām manayhā* 'truth for the truth (and) the rule in alliance with good thinking'. The reading *ašam* (J<sub>7</sub>) is preferable to *ašim* (J<sub>2</sub>), since the fig. *ašam asāi* is a var. of the type 43.5d *akām akāi* and since it is natural that *ašam* and *volū manō* be coupled here in customary fashion. The var. *ašim* stems from 43.16e *ašim šyaoθanāiš volū daidiī manayhā*, which closely resembles the wording of *ašam asāi volū xsāθrām manayhā*. For process, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. What Zarathustra means by 'who would grant truth for the truth' is that a

person should act with truth in response to his knowledge of the truthful doctrine presented by the prophet.

*cinvatō pārātūm* 'the Bridge of the Judge'. I follow Bthlm. (1904, 596) in taking *cinvant-* as pres. part. of *ci* 'decide, discern', since the usage is thus parallel to that of *saošyant-* 'savior'.

46.11. Antithesis to the preceding verse: the truthful will successfully cross the Bridge into Paradise, but the Karpans and Kavis have already been turned away from there and damned to Hell.

*xšaθrāiš* 'during their regimes' is instr. of temporal extent; cf. 30.7 *ayaṇhā ādānāiš*.

*ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* 'in order to destroy this world and mankind'. This is a variant of 30.6c *yā* (= *aēšəmā*) *bəṇayən ahūm marətanō* 'with which fury they (= the gods) have afflicted this world and mankind'. The parallel reveals that *mašim* cannot thus be the obj. of *yūjən*, to which the simplest addition is *nā* 'us'. This is essentially a lament of the truthful; others who followed the ways of the Karpans etc. seemingly saw no oppression in their ways. In general, the opening 2 lines *xšaθrāiš yūjən karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaoθanāiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* function as antithesis to 34.15c *xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā fərəšəm vasnā huiθyəm dā ahūm*. For disc., cf. 30.9 *aṭcā tōi vaēm hīyāmā* etc.

*yəng x'ə urvā x'aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā* 'whom their own soul and own conception did vex'. *xraodaṭ* must be a 3pl. preterite parallel to preceding *yūjən* and 11g. *aibī.gəməṇ*. Both *x'ə urvā* and *x'aēcā daēnā* are the coordinated subjects of the verb form, but the use of the 3pl. is correct insofar as it is employed distributively. Cf. 44.20cd *yāiš gəm karapā usixscā aēšəmāi dātā* (orig. *\*datā*) *yācā kavā* 'together with whom the Karpan and Usig have delivered the cow unto fury, and the Kavi as well', where a 3pl. verb form also occurs with a compound subject, probably also intended distributively. The sense is that the soul and conception of all the Karpans and Kavis vexed them when they appeared at the Bridge of the Judge. *xraodaṭ* is therefore a form comparable to *paitī.mravaṭ* 29.3 and *syazdaṭ* 34.9. Cf. also corresponding subj. *xraodaitī* in the parallel 51.13b *yehyā urvā xraodaitī cinvatō pārətā* 'whose soul shall vex him at the Bridge of the Judge'.

*yavōi višpāi drūjō \*dəmānē* (Mss. *dəmiānāi*) *astayō* 'to be guests forever in the House of Deceit'. The reading *dəmiānāi* should be restored to *\*dəmānē* in view of 32.13a *acištahyā dəmānē manayhō*, 49.11d *drūjō dəmiānē huiθyā aṇhən astayō*, etc. Vocalism of *\*dəmānē* was influenced

by the preceding *višpāi*. Similarly, *vāstrāi* 47.3 reposes on orig. \**vāstrē*, whose vocalism was altered under the effects of preceding *ahmāi*. On process, cf. introd. p. 5f. Note that this final line contrasts with 31.22c *hvō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aṇhaitī astiš* 'He shall be Thy most welcome guest, Wise Lord', said of the truthful man.

46.12. *hyaṭ us ašā naptiyaēšū naṣṣucā tūrahvā jān* 'Since Thou, truth, didst arise among the children and grandchildren of the Turanian ...'. *ašā* in this vs. and at the conclusion of the next is best taken as a voc. In terms of the structure of the hymn, Zarathustra first turns to the immortals with his affirmations and then to his followers to repeat his points; cf. introd. to Y. 31. Consequently, *us ... jān* is best explained as 2sg. aor.

*āmatōiš gaēθā frādō θwaxšaijā* 'of the one prospering his creatures with the zeal of piety'. Piety is mentioned in this context addressed to truth, since it corresponds to the repeated notion that the piety of the faithful gives strength to AhM. and his powers (cf. 28.3). In particular, the current passage belongs with 44.6c *ašam šyaoθanāiš dābqzaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'. Latter statement supports interpretation of *ašā* as voc.

*aṭ iš volū hām.aibi.mōist manajhā ... ahurō* 'Therefore did the Lord unite them with good thinking'. For disc., cf. 32.2. Intended as contrast to preceding vs. 11ab *yūjān (nā) karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaoθanāiš*. The form *hām.aibi.mōist* is aor. to *mit* 'throw'; on meaning, cf. Lat. *committo*.

*aēihyā rafəθrāi ... sastē* 'in order to announce Himself to them for (their) support'. On the inf. *sastē*, cf. 30.2 *sa-dyāi*. Note that *volū manajhā* and *rafəθrāi* in these final lines correspond to above 46.2de *rafəθrām cagvā ... āxsā vaijhaūs ašā ištīm manajhō* 'offering the (fitting) support ... Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth'. Zarathustra implies thereby that the advent of good thinking among men is a major means of support for them against the hostilities of the world.

46.13. *yā spitāmam zaraθuštrām rādayhā marətaēšū xšnāuš* 'who among men did satisfy Zarathustra Sp. with solicitude ...'. Intended as contrast to the opening of hymn vs. 1cd *nāiṭ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzənā \*hāhēcā / naēdā dahyēuš yōi sāsārā drəgvantō*.

*tām vā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim* 'we respected him among you as the good friend of truth'. On *māhmaidī*, cf. 31.19 *gūštā yā mantā ašam*.

The fig. *ašā ... huš.haxāim* occurs at 32.2b (*ahurō*) *ašā huš.haxā* and 50.6b *urvaθō ašā*. Syntactically *tām vā* 'him among you' is parallel to preceding *yā ... marataēšū*, and the use of the pron. *vā* shows return of discourse to direction of Zarathustra's followers, anticipating the parallel employment in flg. vs. 15a *vaxšyā vā*, vs. 17a *yaθrā vā ... sānghānī*.

46.14. *zaraθuštrā kastē ašavā urvaθō mazōi magāi* 'Zarathustra, which truthful man is thy ally for the great task?'. Continues the idea of the last verse: the man who is the friend of the lord's values is also the ally of the truthful man of this world, and is therefore ready to assist in the overthrow of deceit.

*aṭ hvō kavā vīštāspō \*yā \*alī* (Mss. *yāhī*) 'Yes, it is Kavi V., with whom thou art allied'. According to the remarks at 32.2, it is certain that *yāhī* should be emended to *\*yā \*alī*. On vowel contractions, cf. introd. p. 18.

*yāngstū mazdā hadəmōi* etc. These words seem to me to be meaningful only if they stem from Kavi Vīštāspa himself. They thus appear to be a citation of the Kavi's words employed by Zarathustra to show that V. is truly an ally of both AhM. and Zarathustra. He is in possession of good thinking and therefore ready for the great task.

*vayhāuš uxδāiš manayhū* 'with words stemming from good thinking'; cf. 34.10 for disc. and parallels.

46.15. *dadyē* need not be a short-vowel subj. (so, HH. 1959, II 72), but can be false orthography for *\*dādyē* as in *dāidyāi* 31.5, 51.20. The final missing line of the verse has been supplied according to 28.11c *yāiš ā ayhuš paouruyō bavaṭ*.

46.16. *arədrāiš idi ... tāiš yāug usvalū uštā stōi* 'Come thou hither with those sincere ones whom we wish to be in His favor'. According to 33.2c *tōi vārāi rādanti ahuraḥyā zaošē mazdā* 'They shall bring success to His wish and be in the approval of the Wise Lord', it seems most likely that *uštā* here is a parallel loc., thus from *ušti-* 'wish'; cf. *uštīš* 48.4. The sense of *uštā* in fact approaches that of *zaošē*, since both terms often occur side by side. Cf. 48.4c *ahyā zaošāng uštīš varənāng hacaitē* 'He follows his pleasures, desires, preferences'; Vd. 2.11 *hvəm anu uštūn zaošəmca*. Both *ušti-* and *zaoša-*, however, already have acquired the secondary meaning 'approval, favor', clearly seen in 33.10b *θvalmī hīs zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give them a share in Thy

approval'. Note also *urvāzəman-* 'joy, happiness' employed as 'grace' at 32.1b (*yāsaŋ*) ... *ahuraŋyā urvāzəmə mazdā* 'entreated for the grace of the Wise Lord'.

*yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš / yaθrā vaŋhəuš manəjhō īštā xšaθrəm* 'where piety is harmony with truth, where sovereignty lies in the power of good thinking'. These two lines succinctly summarize two of the major themes of the Gāthās: (1) the piety of the faithful grants strength to the Lord, as it should be (*ašā*); (2) the only true power in the world must be regulated by good thinking. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm* ... *varədaīti ārmaitiš* and 47.1.

*yaθrā mazdā varədaməqm šaēiti ahurō* 'where the Wise Lord dwells in maturity'. *varədaməqm* is loc. of *varədaman-* 'maturity'; cf. similar loc. *anašməqm* in the flg. vs. On *-məqm* for *\*-mqm*, cf. 29.10 *rāməmcā*. Note that the sequence in these last 3 lines of *ašā ... vaŋhəuš manəjhō ... šaēiti ahurō* corresponds to the diction of 44.9e *hadəmōi ašā volucā šyqs manəjhā* and 33.5bc *ā xšaθrəm vaŋhəuš manəjhō / ašā ā ərəzūš paθō yaēšū mazdā ahurō šaēiti* 'the rule of good thinking and the paths, straight in accord with truth, wherein the Wise Lord dwells'.

46.17. *yaθrā vā ašmāni sānghāni nāi anašməqm ... vahmāng* 'where I shall teach to you in verse — not in non-verse — the glories ...'. The use of the neut. pl. forms *dāməqm* 46.6 = *dāməqm* 48.7, *mīzdavəqm* 43.5, *rāməqm* 29.10, *šyaoməqm* 32.3, all without final *-i-*, makes it highly unlikely that *ašmāni* and *anašməqm* are to be interpreted as neut. pl. forms here. Rather, both are loc. sg., with the optional use of *-i* appearing in the doublets *cašməqm* 50.10 and *cašmaini* 31.8, 45.8, both 'in (a) vision', and in the Ved. by-forms *udān uclāni* 'in the water', etc. Consequently, *sāx'āni* in 53.5a *sāx'āni ... kainibyō nraomī* also cannot be neut. pl., but should be divided into *\*sāx'āni \*i* (better *\*sax'qni \*i*): 'I say these words to the girls'. The pron. *i* has simply moved into its normal position of second place in its clause.

With regard to the orthography *ašmāni* in place of expected *\*ašmaini*, the form simply shows the effects of flg. *sānghāni*; cf. introd. p. 7 for process. I follow Nyberg (1938, 239) with regard to the meanings 'verse' and 'non-verse'. Zarathustra is understandably proud of his poetic craft.

*hadā vāstā* I take as a mistake for orig. *\*hadā.vastā* 'in total inspiration', loc. of a stem *hadā.vasti-* from *vat* 'inspire'. This root belongs to the central vocabulary of IndoIran. poetic art. Cf. RV. X 25.1ab *bhadraṇ no āpi vātaya, māno dākṣam utā kratim* 'Favorably inspire

our thinking, skill and determination' and Y. 9.25 *\*apivatahi \*pouru.-vacqm arəžuxδanqm* 'Thou art the inspirer of many truly spoken words'. A derivation from *vat* thus seems in place where Zarathustra is extolling his own abilities as poet. Cf. also *apivaitī* 44.18.

*rādayhō | yā vīcīnaoꝥ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā | dangrā mantū ašā mazdā alurō* '(the praises) of Him who offers solicitude, the Wise Lord, who, together with his clever adviser, truth, has judged both the just and the unjust man'. The gen. *rādayhō*, as always, refers to AhM. and in this instance is clearly resumed by *yā ... mazdā alurō*; cf. 45.7 (1st para.) and 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

*yā vīcīnaoꝥ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā* echoes above vs. 15b *hyaꝥ dāθəng vīcayaθā adāθəscā* 'how ye shall distinguish the just and the unjust men'. But it is difficult to believe that the same meaning can apply to AhM. (and truth), who is all-seeing and undeceivable acc. to 45.4e *nōiꝥ diwəaidyāi vīspā.hišas alurō*. Rather, I think that *vi ci* is employed in 46.17 here in its technical sense 'to judge juridically' (cf. 32.7), whereby Zarathustra wishes to indicate that AhM., together with truth, possesses the power to definitively judge a person for salvation or damnation at the end. For disc., cf. 32.5 *fracīnas. dangrā mantū* as an epithet of *ašəm* contrasts with 33.4c *acištəm mantūm* as an epithet of *anгрō mainyuš*.

46.18. *mazdā ašā xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmuō* 'thus satisfying your wish with truth, Wise One'. The wish of AhM. which is satisfied refers to the previously mentioned notions of the first 3 lines, that Zarathustra will give his best to the truthful followers but bring on evil to the evil opponents. The passage is thus a variant of 33.2 *yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti, vaṇhān vā cōiθaitē astīm, tōi vārāi rādənti alurahyā* 'Who shall bring about evil for the deceitful one or who shall enlighten his guests in the good, (all) these shall bring success to the wish of the Lord'. On *xšnaošəmuō*, cf. 28.3 *aγžōnvanmām*.

46.19. *manā.vistāiš maꝥ vīspāiš gāvā azi* 'a fertile cow and steer, along with all my possessions'. *manā.vistāiš* is for orig. *\*manā \*vistāiš*. with accented pron. form *\*manā* in first position of the line; cf. *\*mānā* 29.9, *\*mā.nā* 50.1. The initial *vi-* of *vistāiš* has caused the change of *\*manā* to *manā*, as in *səvištō* 33.11, *əvistī* 34.9, etc. from *\*savištō*, *\*avistī*. The fig. *gāvā azi* 'two fertile cows' is elliptical dual for 'a fertile cow and a steer'; cf. Nyberg (1938, 197). These, however, are the good vision and Zarathustra as its keeper. Note that the

supporters of the faith are called *aśahyā vaēdrāng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in vs. 4 above. The combination of *gāvā azī* and *\*manā* *\*vistāiš vīspāiš* is intended to correspond to the typical juxtaposition 43.1e *rāyō aśiš vaējhāiš gaēm manajhō* 'the rewards of wealth and life of good thinking', also referred to as the attainments of the spiritual and material worlds in 28.2bc.

*tācī mōi sqs t vām mazdā vaēdištō* 'Even these things, it has seemed to me, Thou dost best know, Wise One'. Typical use of independent tag at the conclusion of the final line of vs., with tag beginning with a demon. pron.; cf. *tā tōi vohū manajhā* in vs. 9e above.



## Yasna 47

With the very first words of this brief Gāthā, Zarathustra draws immediate attention to the virtuous spirit, which fully dominates the content and the tone of this poem describing the workings of this spiritual force of good and truth in both man and god. Beginning his presentation in impersonal and compact language, precisely calculated to reflect these disclosures as the very words of his lord, the prophet discusses in the first 2 verses how the participation of man in the life and meaningfulness of god depends upon this very spirit. In that this force of good and virtue provokes man to act with truth and good thinking in every sphere of his activity, it promotes the highest principles of god in this earthly existence and therefore enforces the dignity and significance of the almighty's being. This indeed is the ultimate form of reverence and honor, because god created these moral and good qualities by reason of this very same virtuous spirit of his, and in man's enactment of these godly principles a second generation of good, which is the nature of god, arises in the world of man.

These elevated thoughts form the foundation of man's involvement with the virtuous spirit, and in the final 4 verses the prophet turns directly to the Wise Lord to affirm his understanding of his god's own involvement with this spiritual essence. The Wise One sired this force of good and virtue, and motivated by its effects upon him, he created the rule of truth and good thinking to offer to man as a means of salvation in his own existence (3). Moreover, he acknowledged and aided his rightful prophet who, once aroused by good thinking, realized that mankind's only hope is in the perseverance of its own virtuous spirit both to further this god-given cause of truth and good and to oppose the force of deceit in this world (3-4). Verses 5 and 6 then speak of how, similarly moved by his virtuous spirit to act with total justice, the Wise Lord shall save the truthful but damn the deceitful at the time of judgment on earth and in heaven. By turning to these events yet to occur, Zarathustra thus rightfully concludes this embracing portrait of his lord's eternal essence of good and virtue, which has compelled him to act justly and benevolently in the past, in the present world, and in the future.

47.1. Unlike the remaining vss. 3-6 which contain the voc. *mazdā* (*ahurā*), vss. 1 and 2 are framed in impersonal language and therefore appear to be *mqθras* containing the fundamental teachings about the virtuous spirit.

*spəntā mainyū vahistācā manayhā / hacā ašā šyaoθanācā vacayhācā / ahmāi dən haurvātā amərətātā* 'Through a virtuous spirit and the best thinking, through both the action and the word befitting truth, they shall grant completeness and immortality to Him'. These lines are a succinct paraphrase of 34.1-2, which relate that AhM. has received immortality and completeness (as well as truth) through the correct word and action of the truthful men, including their worship of him. Specifically, 34.2a *manayhā mainyāuš vañhāuš* corresponds to *spəntā mainyū vahistācā manayhā* here in 47.1. and 34.2b *spəntaliyācā nərəš šyaoθanā yehyā nrvā ašā hacaiē* corresponds to *hacā ašā šyaoθanācā vacayhācā* in the current vs. The parallelism betw. these passages thus supports the impersonal subject of *dən*, for it is men (the faithful) who guarantee immortality to god. The values which god represents are the motivating forces for men to reach this realization. However, it is only their actions and beliefs which are the effective principles in creating meaning and substance (immortality and completeness) to god's existence. Note, too, the impersonal subjects in the following cited parallels.

Besides the theme of piety granting power to the Lord (cf. 28.3), these passages thus represent the complementary theme that the good thinking of men strengthens god and the values he stands for, and grants life to him by their realization on earth. Most clearly related is 45.10cde *hyaṭ hāi ašā cāišṭ manayhā / xšaθrāi hāi haurvātā amərətātā / ahmāi stāi \*dqm tavišī utayūiti* 'What one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule, is to he these two enduring powers for Him in His house'. Related also is the *mqθra* 31.6c *mazdāi avaṭ xšaθrəm hyaṭ hāi vahū vaxšaṭ manayhā* 'Rule for the Wise One is (only) so great as one shall increase it for Him through good thinking' and 45.5e *vañhāuš mainyāuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurā* cited immediately below. The same notion is also at the basis of 33.14be ... *paurvatātām manayhascā vañhāuš mazdāi šyaoθanahyā ašā uxδaliyācā* '... (so that there be) for the Wise One predominance of good thinking, as well as predominance of both the action and the word in harmony with truth'.

*mazdā xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'The Wise One in rule is Lord through piety'. This expresses the complementary notion to the preceding idea;

cf. 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varədaīti ārmaitiš* for parallels. Syntax follows vs. 2d below *hvō ptā aśahyā mazdā* 'The Wise One is the Father of truth', 51.21a *ārmaitōiš nā spəntō* 'Virtuous is the man of piety'. Especially important is the parallel 45.5e *vayhōuš mainyōuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurō* 'The Wise One is Lord through actions stemming from (our) good spirit'. Syntax is similar and the line likewise stands as an independent sentence at the conclusion of a vs. Both lines thus support each other. Syntax should really have been *\*ahurō ārmaiti xšaθrā mazdā*, but appears in attested form since *\*ahurō ārmaiti* could not fit before the caesura. Cf. here disc. at 44.2 *hvō zī ... irixtəm* and 50.1 *azdā zūtā*.

The fig. *mazdā xšaθrā* reoccurs at 45.7e *tācā xšaθrā mazdā dāmīš ahurō* 'These things, too, did the Lord, Wise in His rule, create', 45.9c *mazdā xšaθrā varəzī nā dyāi ahurō* 'May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness', 51.6b *ahurō xšaθrā mazdā*. Cf. also 31.21c *mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō* 'an ally in spirit and actions', 51.5b *šyaoθanāiš arəšvō* 'lofty in his actions', with a similar use of the instr., which admittedly can be translated in these instances as 'by reason of ...'.

47.2. *ahyā mainyōuš spəništahyā vahištəm* 'the best for His most virtuous spirit'. Type of obj. gen.: cf. 44.10 *yā hātqni vahištā* for parallels. I believe that it makes more sense to interpret *ahyā* as anaphoric to preceding *mazdā ... ahurō* than as appositive to *mainyōuš*, as in the flg. vs. The opening of vs. 3 *ahyā mainyōuš* is a conscious imitation of the style of the preceding *mqθra*, but employed syntactically quite differently by Zarathustra. The same rhetorical technique is used by Zarathustra in the *mqθra* 43.1ab and in its paraphrase 43.2a, which should be consulted.

*varəzyāi* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) is the preferred reading, with a subj. verb. form parallel to preceding *dqn*. The var. *varəzyai* has been influenced by flg. *-tašaī* (vs. 3) and *ayhaī* (vs. 4) appearing in identical metrical position at the end of the verse line. For process, cf. introd. p. 7f.

*ōyā cisti* 'according to the single understanding'. *ōyā* (read *\*ōiyā*) is for *\*ōivā*, the equiv. of yAv. *aēvā*. Cf. also yAv. *ōyumi* = *\*ōivəm* (cf. Bthlm. 1895, 156 §268.24). Cf. Addenda.

47.3. *ahyā mainyōuš ... yā ahmāi gqm rānyō.skəraītiui hām.tašaī* '... of the spirit who fashioned the joy-bringing cow (= the good vision) for this world'. The rel. *yā* must refer back to *ahyā mainyōuš*, since it is

*spāntō mainyuš.* not AhM., who fashioned the cow acc. to 31.9a *θwā as gāuš tašā* 'Thine (= AhM.) was the fashioner of the cow' and acc. to inferences of 29.2 and 6. Syntax thus follows 43.6e *θvaliyā xratāuš yām naēciš dābaveiti* '... of Thy will which no one is able to deceive'. Moreover, 51.7ab *dāidī mōi yā gəm tašō ... spāništā mainyā* 'Grant to me ... Thou who didst fashion the cow by reason of (through) Thy most virtuous spirit. Wise One' shows that if AhM. was the subject of the verb in the 2nd line of 47.3 here, the text should have run *tvām ahī tā spāntō yā ... gəm ... \*hām.tašō*. Thus 44.6e *kaēihyō azīm rānyō.skərāitīm gəm tašō* 'For whom didst Thou fashion the joy-bringing fertile cow?' surely requires an instr. *spāntā mainyā* to be supplied.

On *ahmāi* 'for this world', cf. 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaʔ manayhā volhī ašācā* 'But to this world He came with the rule of good thinking and truth', where it is suggested that that line and 47.3b here are variants of one another, with *gəm* clearly the equiv. of *xšaθram volhī manayhā ašācā*.

*aʔ hōi \*vāstrē* (Mss. *vāstrāi*) *rāniā dā ārmaitīm | hyaʔ hām volhū mazdā fraštā manayhā* 'And Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her pastor when he came to terms with good thinking'. When Zarathustra speaks of himself in 45.6cd *sraotū mazdā ahurō yehyā vahmē volhū frašī manayhā* 'May the Wise Lord listen, in whose glory I have taken counsel with good thinking', it is evident that he is also the intended subject of *volhū ... fraštā manayhā* here in 47.3. Thus I see the necessity of emending *vāstrāi* to *\*vāstrē* 'for her pastor', dat. of *vāstar-*, which again is a metaphor for Zarathustra. The juxtaposition of *gāuš* and *vāstar-* then fits well with the pattern 29.1 *gāuš ... vāstā*, 29.2 *gavōi ... vāstrā*, 31.9 *gāuš ... vāstryāʔ*, Vyt. 41 *gave ... vāstryanta*, etc. The idea is, it is as important for there to be peace and piety on earth for the lord's prophet as for god himself, if the true way is to be brought to fulfillment. Cf. 44.16cd *ratūm cīždī aʔ hōi volhū sərəošō jautū manayhā* 'Promise us as judge and let obedience to him come through good thinking', where further comments are given regarding this question. The reading *vāstrāi* has been influenced by preceding *ahmāi*, a mistake comparable to 46.11e *yavōi vīspāi drūjō dāmānāi ...* for orig. *\*dāmānē*, similarly altered to *dāmānāi* under the effect of preceding *vīspāi*. Cf. introd. p. 6.

I have translated *hām ... fraštā* as 'came to terms with' in light of Ved. *sām praś* 'id., reach an agreement with'. Cf. RV. IV 18.2d *yūdhīyāi tvena sām tvena pṛchai* 'I shall fight with one person, I shall

reach an agreement with another', etc. Cf. also 53.3d *aθā hām.fārašvā θivā xraθwā* 'Therefore, come to terms with thy will'. The same meaning may also be at the basis of all the Gāthic instances of med. *fras* with instr.

47.4. *kasāušcī nā* etc. These last 2 lines are most probably a *maθra*, discernible by the change in discourse style from the personal (cf. voc. *mazdā* in line b) to the impersonal. Furthermore, when 51.8b *hya! akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yā ašām dādrē* '... that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accord with the wish of Him who upholds the truth' expresses the same content as the final line of 47.4 here as the wish of AhM., it is almost certain that this behavior is a precept and must be considered to represent the word of god. The exact formulation alluded to in 51.8b thus appears in these lines of 47.4.

*kasāušcī nā ašāunē kāθā aṇha!* 'even a man of little worth shall be loving to the truthful person'. *kāθā* (Mf<sub>1,2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.) is the correct reading because we expect a nom. form parallel to the flg. *akō*. Cf. 33.3a *ašāunē vahištō* and 44.2 for the meaning of *kāθā*.

*isvāci! hq̄s paraoš akō drəgvāitē* 'even the master of much worth shall be evil to the deceitful person'. Belongs with 33.2ab *a! yā akām drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti* 'Who shall bring about what is evil for the deceitful one' and above-cited 51.8b *hya! akōyā drəgvāitē*.

Syntax of lines cd follows the type discussed at 29.3 *avaēšqin nōi!* etc., since it is clear that the reciprocal of each statement should also apply. Zarathustra intends to say that a man, be he rich or poor, should be good to his truthful ally and bad to his deceitful opponent.

47.5. *ašāunē cōiš yā zi cīcā vahištā* 'Thou hast promised for the truthful person what indeed are the very best things'. Antithesis to 32.12b *aēibyō* (= *drəgvō.dəhyō*) *mazdā akā mrao!* 'The Wise One spoke of bad things for these (deceitful ones)'. Both show use of dat. commodi.

*hanarə θvahunā! zaošā! drəgvā \*baxšaitē* (Mss. *baxšaiti*) 'The deceitful one shall have his share apart from Thy approval'. Contrasts with 33.10b *θvahuni hiš* (= *\*vispās \*tōi hujītayō*) *zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give these (whose way of life is good for Thee) a share in Thy approval' = 'accept them into Thy grace'. Syntax of *hanarə* with abl. follows RV. VIII 97.3d *sauntār dliehi tāni tātaḥ* 'Get him away from here', V 2.4a *kṣētrād apaśyaṃ sauntāś cārantam* 'I saw him as he was wandering far off from this field', etc.

Med. *\*baxšaiti ē* is syntactically a better reading and should be restored in the passage. The text here in 47.5 has been normalized after 50.3d, where the fig. *dragvā baxšaitī* likewise appears in the same metrical position at the end of the verse line. In this latter passage as well, the reading *baxšaitī* appears in place of orig. *\*baxšaitē*, which has been altered under the effects of *ayhaitī* in 50.3a and *haraitī* 50.6a, both appearing at the end of the verse line. For disc., cf. introd. p. 7f.

*ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāf ā šyās manayhō* 'since he dwells (= lives) by his actions stemming from evil thinking'. Antithesis to 34.10a *ahyā vāghāuš manayhō šyaoθanā ... luxratuš* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination ...'. Cf. latter vs. for syntax.

47.6. *ārmatōiš dābqzayhā ašahyācā* 'by reason of the solidarity of piety and truth'. Stylistic variant of 44.6c *ašam šyaoθanāiš dābqzaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth', which explains the intention of the phrase in 47.6 here. Namely, 'AhM. shall make a forceful appearance when he believes that both piety and truth have grown strong enough on earth to rally the devoted to the true cause.

*hā zī pouruš išantō vāurāitē* 'For it shall convert the many who are seeking (to know)'. On *išantō*, cf. 30.1; on *vāurāitē*, cf. 28.5 *vāurōj-maidī*.

## Yasna 48

This lyric deals with basic questions and reaffirmations that concern the beginnings of the foremost existence on earth. Shall the truthful finally defeat the deceitful (2)? For, if this shall come to pass, the glory of the Wise One shall increase (1) and His best precepts can then reign in this world (3). The choice of good or evil governs a person's behavior and his ultimate fate (4). Good understanding motivates good rulership (5). The realization of the good vision brings moral sustenance, peace and prosperity (5-6). Therefore one must end the fury and cruelty of deceit (7). Does the good rule of the Lord really possess the necessary power (8) to control the threat of the deceitful (9)? Shall all the destructive forms of deceit ever end (10-11), so that there can be peace and piety, truth and good thinking in this world (11)? Only those who are moved by truth and good thinking can bring this about (12). Since it is exactly these last two values which are the foundations of the foremost existence, these two terms dominate this hymn. Truth appears in verses 1, 6-9, 11-12; good thinking in verses 3, 5-7, 9, 11-12, and this last concept is paraphrased by good understanding in verse 5 and by good spirit in verse 8.

Analysis. Like the beginning of Y. 31, this Gāthā is composed of a complex interchange of address to both the heavenly forces and the earthly adherents of the prophet. First turning to the Wise Lord in verses 1 and 2. Zarathustra tempts his god into answering the question of whether the forces of deceit shall ever be vanquished with the promise that the lord's glory and fame shall grow mightily if this comes to pass. God, like man, can be aroused by an appeal to his pride, apparently. Yet, in the following verse the prophet assumes a more serious justification for his question: If the forces of truth prevail, then they shall institute on earth the only good form of existence, the rule of truth and good thinking. This formulation furnishes the proper transition for Zarathustra to turn to his followers in the beginning of verse 3 and to intone to them that this good existence shall only arise if mankind is obedient to the commandments of the one true god. Because, by his innate wisdom and benevolence, God has created the way to save the world and has revealed it to his people, but it is only by their adherence to these lordly principles and by their enactment of the highest moral values contained in these

words of god that this state of happiness might come to pass. The choice lies with man therefore, and thus the prophet returns to the Wise One in the conclusion of verse 4 to affirm that the person who does choose the truthful way and remains steadfast in his decision is of the same nature of the god who created this. The two are indeed unified in their common purpose. Verse 4 continues this motif in its reassertion that each man has the freedom to make the proper or incorrect choice, but that their subsequent fates shall depend upon their allegiance to the cause of good or the cause of evil.

Mention of the good evokes the supplication to the Wise One in the beginning of verse 5 for rulers on earth who govern in accordance with the cause of good and in the understanding of why this is necessary. And the verse concludes with an exhortation to the followers of the prophet to unite their efforts in the achievement of this rule founded upon truth and good thinking. Verses 6 and 7 follow with the explanation for such determination. The good rule shall bring peace and a force whose strength derives from good thinking, not from fury or violence or terror, which are the methods of the rule founded upon deceit and evil. Thus those who attend the advent of the best possible earthly existence must oppose those forces of deceit through their own endeavors in the ways of truth and good thinking. Verse 7 then ends this motif with a declaration to the Wise One, as previously appears in the conclusion of verse 3, that such men are truly the allies of god on earth.

The remainder of the hymn is directed to the Wise Lord, and therein Zarathustra first enquires in verses 8 and 9 whether the Wise One truly has the power to bring about the end of the forces of deceit (motif of verse 7) and what rewards he has in mind for those who cooperate in this undertaking. Verses 10 and 11 then juxtapose in antithetical fashion further questions concerning the end of the various manifestations of evil and the advent of peace and tranquility in a world founded upon truth and good thinking (understanding). The final verse is again an affirmation, as in the conclusion of verses 3 and 7, that the end of the forces of deceit shall occur through the efforts of those men who are akin to the spirit of the Wise One himself in that they follow his teachings concerning truth and good thinking by actions motivated by those very principles. The direct mention of the end of fury thus links the conclusion of this hymn with its beginning, which poses the unanswered question of whether truth shall ever defeat deceit and its proponents.



48.1. *yezi adāiš* (read \**ād* \**āiš*) *ašā drujim vānyhaiti* 'If, during the times after this, one shall defeat deceit by truth ...'. Syntax with impersonal subject and instr. also appears in related 49.4c *yaēšqm nōi! hvarštāiš vqs dužvarštā* 'whose evil effects one has not (yet) defeated with good effects', referring to the deceitful as well.

*yezi adāiš* stands for orig. *yezi* \**ād* \**āiš*, where \**ād* is a sandhi var. of *āi āa!* (cf. *yAv. ā dim* from \**ād im*), and *āiš* is the usual instr. of temporal extent; cf. 30.7 *ayaṅhā ādānāiš*. The expression \**ād* \**āiš* 'during the times after this' thus corresponds to the instr. *savāiš* 'during the times of salvation' appearing in the final line. With regard to orthography, \**ād* \**āiš* has simply been altered redactionally under the generalizing influence of the prons. *anāiš avāiš*; cf. introd. p. 17. Cf. also RV. I 148.4abc *purūṇi dasmō ni riṇāti jāmbhair, ād rocate vāna ā vibhāvā | ād asya vāto āni vāti śociḥ* 'The wondrous one crushes many (logs) with his jaws. After this he shines brilliantly amid the wood. After this the wind fans his flame'; V 65.4ab *mitrā aṅhōś cid ād urī,* *kṣāyāya gātūṇ vanate* 'After this Mitra shall win freedom from even anxiety and (gain) a way to peace'; etc.

*hya! qsašutā yā daibitānā fraoxtā | amərətāitē* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) *daēvāišcā maš-yāišcā*. *hya! qsašutā* is difficult, but it seems clear that *hya!* can only refer back to \**ād* in the sense 'after this present time which ...'. If we accept Humbach's proposal (1959, II 76) that *qs-* is somehow related to the root *amh* 'do, be evil', then *qsašutā* can be considered the loc. of an orig. stem. \**qs-šuti-* 'the working of evil' (cf. *aiwi-šūti-* 'approach' N. 4), with the usual Gāthic meaning of *š(y)n* 'act, enact'. For meaning, cf. also Ved. *hāsta-cyuti-* 'working of the hands' in RV. VII 1.1ab *agnim nāraḥ ... arāṇyor, hāstacyuti janayanta praśastām* 'The priests have begotten famed Agni from the two fire-sticks, through the working of their hands'. This interpretation thus ascribes to *hya! qsašutā* the meaning '(the present time) which is under the working of evil', a sense which fits well with the general tone of the verse expressing the impression that deceit indeed has the upper hand at the moment.

In view of 32.3c *šyaomqm aipi daibitānā* 'Hateful, too, are your actions', referring to those of the gods, the fig. *yā daibitānā fraoxtā* can only sensibly resume the preceding *drujīm*, since the instr. complement *daēvāiš* clearly marks this passage to be related to the former one. Metrical positioning of *yezi* \**ād* \**āiš* and *hya! qsašutā* thus follows the pattern of 29.3ab, 29.4ab and 29.8ab, where the opening of each first 2 lines before the caesura forms a syntactic unit. The dat. *amərətāitē* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) is the preferable reading, for a dat. of goal offers more sense

with *fraoxtiā*. Cf. 46.7e *iqm mōi duxivqm daēnayāi frāvaacā* 'Proclaim this wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception'.

48.2. *parā hyaṭ mā yā māng pərəθā jinairi*. The peculiar *yā māng* is for orig. *\*yārmāng*, gen. of *yāman-* 'course' = Ved. *yāman-*, and *pərəθā-* corresponds to Ved. *pārā-* 'far shore, end'. Thus the expression *\*yārmāng pərəθā* means 'the end of the course', and is a euphemism for death. Cf. comparable Ved. combination *ādhyatmā pāram* RV. V 54.10d. etc. Separation to *yā māng* has taken place under the influence of *yā* in the first line. On principle, cf. introd. p. 10. Thus translate: '... before the end of the course will come to (reach) me'. Zarathustra obviously wants the answers to these important questions before he dies.

*hā zi aṇhōuš vaṇuhī vistā ākarətiš* 'This indeed is known as the good form of existence'. For disc., cf. 28.11 *yāis ā aṇhōuš* etc.

48.3. *aṭ vaēdərnuāi vahistā sāsnaqum . yqm huda sāsti ašā ahurō* 'Yes, for the person who accepts, there applies the best of commands which the Lord, beneficent through truth, commands'. *huda* and *ašā* belong together syntactically in view of 45.6bc *yā huda ... spəntā mainyū*. For parallels, cf. 28.1 *mainyōuš ... spəntahyā ašā*. The best of commands (instructions) alluded to in this verse is clearly the *maθra* 45.5cde, which is described in 45.5b as *vacā srūdyāi hyaṭ marətaēihyō vahistam* 'the word which is to be heard as the best for men'. The *maθra*, of course, states that those who shall give obedience and regard to AhM, shall reach immortality and completeness. The prime directive of the faithful is certainly to give piety to the lord (cf. 28.3).

*gūrā sānghāhō* 'profound teachings' is a stylistic variant of 46.3c *vərəzdāis sānghāis* 'mature teachings'. The verse thus contains the notion that the faithful must follow both the instructions and the teachings of the lord, the same idea pregnant in 31.1ac *iā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacā sānghāmahī ... aēihyā vahistā yōi vərəzdā aṇhən mazdāi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach the words (which are) best for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One'. In 48.3 here *sāsnaqum ... sānghāhō* are equiv. to *urvātā ... sānghāmahī* in 31.1, which is an excellent support for the interpretation of *urvāta-* as 'commandment'; cf. 30.11.

48.4. *yā dāṭ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā* must contain two separate subjects, otherwise the concluding phrase *apəməm nanā aṇhaṭ* 'the end

shall be different' is senseless. Thus the opening line stands for \**yā dāi manō vahyō mazdā yascā ašyō* 'Who has set his mind on the good, Wise One, and who on the bad ...'. On suppression of the rel. pron., cf. 31.9.

*θvalmī xratā* 'when Thy will shall be done' is loc. abs. Cf. 31.19 *vahhān vīdātā rqnayā* for parallels. Cf. Addenda.

48.5. *huxšaθrā xšāntqm ... vahhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš ārmaitī*. 'Let those of good sovereignty rule ... with actions stemming from good understanding and with piety'. The reading *ārmaitī* (Jp<sub>1</sub>; also J<sub>2</sub>) is far preferable to *ārmaitē*, for this allows an instr. parallel to *vahhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*. In this way we achieve a statement comparable to 47.2bc ... *uxdāiš vahhūš dānū manayhō, ārmatōiš ... šyaoθanā vərəzyāi* 'One shall bring to realization (the best) with words stemming from good thinking and action(s) stemming from piety'. This conforms to the theme, repeatedly stressed in the Gāthās, that rulership (cf. *huxšaθrā xšāntqm* here) depends both upon proper attitude and proper piety. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaīti ārmaitiš* and 47.1-2. On the syntax of *vahhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*, cf. 34.10.

*yaozdā mašyā \*aipī.zqθəm vahīštā gavōi vərəzyātqm* 'Men, let the best vitalization for the cow be brought to realization on earth'. In that the cow is a metaphor for the good vision (*vajuhī daēnā*), this line belongs closest with 44.9b *kaθā mōi \*tqm yaoš daēnqm dānē* 'How shall I bring to life that vision of mine?'. Consequently, *yaozdā ... vahīštā* seems best taken as 'the best vitalization', with *yaozdā* following the normal root-noun inflection. The flg. *mašyā* is clearly a voc. for vss. 5, 6 and 7 (apart from 7d) form a triad addressed to Zarathustra's followers: note *nō* in vss. 5 and 6, *yōi dīdrayēd. duyē* in vs. 7. As for the difficult *\*aipī.zqθəm*, I interpret it as an adv. 'on earth' (with suffix *-θəm*); cf. Ved. *api-śarvarā-* 'bordering on night'. Cf. Addenda.

*tqm nō x'arəθāi fšnyō* 'in order to breed her for our sustenance (food)'. Expresses complementary idea to 34.11a *aī tōi nhē haurvāscā x'arəθāi.ā amərətātāscā* 'Now, both completeness and immortality are for Thy sustenance (food)'. Namely, piety and good thinking among men give meaning and life to the lord (notion in 34.11bc), and in return his view of the only truthful way of existence gives them strength to persevere in their determination to bring this to realization.

48.6. *hā zī nō huxšōiθamā* 'For she (= the good vision) shall bring peace to us'. For disc., cf. 50.2 *yā hīm alimāi* etc.

*hā nō utayūitīm dāi tavišīm vahhūš manayhō bərəxδqm* 'She shall

grant to us the enduring and esteemed strength of good thinking'. Antithesis to 32.9 b *apō mā īstim yantā bərəxδqm haitim vañhāuš manayhō* 'He has robbed the esteemed power (which truly) belongs to good thinking', said of *angrō mainyuš* (*duš.sastiš*). This latter passage supports the orig. reading *bərəxδqm* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>), which has been altered generally to *bərəxδē* under the influence of 51.7c *tavišī mayūiti manayhā volū sənijhē*. A fem. voc. is totally out of place here, in that the voc. *mašvā* is continued from the preceding vs. Cf. also 46.16d (*idī*) *yaθrā vañhāuš manayhō īstā xšaθrām* '(Come hither) where the rule lies in the power of good thinking'.

*aṭ aliyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaxšaṭ* 'the Wise One shall increase the plants for her through truth'. Sense acc. to Vr. 12.4 ... *dāmān* ... *yā daθaṭ ahurō mazdā ašava θraošta vohu manayha vaxšt aša, yā hātqm mazištaca valištaca sraēštaca* '... the creatures whom truthful AhM. created, nourished with good thinking and increased through truth, who are the greatest, best and most splendid of those who exist'. *urvarā* 'the plants' is thus a metaphor for the faithful, upon whom the good vision can graze in her guise as cow. The idea is, the greater number of truthful there are who can support the good vision, the stronger this true vision can become in this world. On the metaphor, cf. the description of the truthful at 33.3c *aṭ hvō ašahyā aṭhaṭ vañhāušcā vāstrē manayhō*. Similarly, 51.7a *yō gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow and the waters and the plants' is to be understood also on a metaphoric level, where *gqm* is again the good vision and the waters and plants are the faithful who shall offer their strength and devotion to keep it alive and prosperous.

*ahurō aṭhāuš zqθōi paournyehyā* '(who) shall be Lord at the birth of the foremost existence'. *ahurō* requires *aṭhaṭ*, for acc. to 28.11c *yāiš ā aṭhūš paournyō havaṭ* (= *\*huvat*) 'by means of which the foremost existence shall come about here', this belongs to the future time. Cf. also above vs. 1a *yezī \*ād \*āiš ašā drujim vāñghaitī*, which also indicates that the true realization of the good vision has not as yet taken place on earth. Also cf. preceding vs.

48.7. *nī aēšəmō dyātqm paiti rəməm syōdūm* 'Let fury be stopped! Cut away (= put an end to) cruelty!'. Intended to contrast with the description of the deceitful at 49.4a *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšəməm varədān \*rəməmcā* (Mss. *rāməmcā*) 'who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty'.

*nī aēšəmō dyātqm* 'let fury be stopped' clearly belongs with Ved.

*nī dhiā* 'stop' in RV. I 171.1d *nī hēla dhattā* 'stop your anger'. Thus the form *nī ... dyātqm* is false for *nī ... \*dātqm*, 3sg. med. aor. impv., and the orthography with false -y- has been assimilated from fllg. *syōdūm* (orig. *\*syadvam*) and *vəṛəzyātqm* in preceding vs. 5d (same metrical position). For process, cf. introd. p. 7.

*yōi ā vāyhāuš manayhā didrayžō.duyē ašā vyaqm* 'ye who wish to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth'. Belongs with 44.1de *aī nā ašā fr̥yā dazdyāi hākuraṇā yaθā nā ā volū jimaī manayhā* '(One should declare how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, in order that it come to us together with good thinking'. *ašā* is thus comit. instr. with *vāyhāuš manayhā ... vyaqm*, since a parallel gen. *ašaliyācā* would not metrically fit in the passage. Syntax is like 51.20ab *daidyāi ... ašām volū manayhā* 'Let truth be granted along with good thinking'. *vyaqm* is acc. sg. of a root noun *vyā-* 'attention'; cf. 29.6 *vyānayā*.

*aī hāi dāmqm θvalmī ā dqm ahurā* 'and his (= virtuous man's) bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. For disc., cf. 46.6 *dr̥ijō hvō dāmqm* etc. and 44.16 *θvā pōi sānghā* etc.

48.8. *kā θvōi (īstīš) ašā ākā arədrəng īšyā* 'Which (reward) of Thine is to be sent by truth to those who are certainly sincere?'. The difficult *ākā* appears to me to be used consistently as an adverb 'certainly, surely'. The flg. *ākā arədrəng* (here and at 50.4d) refers to the community of the truthful, and the reward in question is the promise of a future life acc. to 46.19c *ahuvāi mīzdəm hantutē parāhūm* 'for the person winning the reward of a future existence'.

*vāyhāuš mainyēuš šyaoθananqm javarō* 'as an incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'. *šyaoθananqm javarō* is obj. gen. of the type 28.4 *ašīscā šyaoθananqm* 'rewards for (our) actions', and the preceding *vāyhāuš mainyēuš* must be construed as an abl.; cf. 34.10. This sort of behavior in the truthful is contrasted with the opposing behavior of the deceitful at 47.5d *šyaoθanāiš akāī ā ... manayhā* 'actions stemming from evil thinking'.

For *javarō* I have chosen 'incentive' because Zarathustra makes it quite evident here that others need some promise of reward in order to stimulate their good actions. Cf. 44.17bc *kaθā mazdā zarəm carāni hacā xšmaī āskaitīm xšmākqm* 'How, Wise One, shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'. Zarathustra himself does not deny this stimulus: cf. 43.12cd *uzirəidyāi parā hyaī mōi ā.jimaī | sərəošō aši ... hacimmō* '... for me to arise before obedience was to come to me in the

company of a reward'. Therefore I find good sense in interpreting *javarō* as 'incentive'. Suffix *-ara-* appears as nom. ag. in Ved. *tāsara-* 'shuttle', *āḍāmbara-* 'drum', etc.

48.9. *arāš mōi ūcqm vāyhāuš vafūš manayhō* 'Let the solemn words of good thinking be told to me'. Belongs with 29.6a *vaocaṭ ahurō mazdā vidvā vafūš vyānayā* 'The Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of His attentiveness'. On the jussive inf., cf. 34.3 *ārōi zī hūdāyhō* etc.

48.10. *kadā ... mquarōiš narō visantē* 'When shall men desist from murder?'. *visantē* here seems to be the equiv. of Ved. *nī viśate* 'ceases, desists': preceding *narō* may be responsible for the absence of *nī*. However, the same feature also appears in the flg. vs. 11c *kōi dragvō.dahiš xrīrūiš \*rāmam dānti* 'Which ones shall stop the cruelty (caused) by the deceitful?', where *\*rāmam dānti* clearly resumes the notion of vs. 7a *nī uēšamō \*dātqm* 'let fury be stopped'. We thus have another example of the syntactic feature, first mentioned by Wackernagel (1928. 177), of the continuation of the force of a previously mentioned preverb without its direct repetition. For numerous exx., including Hittite, cf. Watkins (1966. 115f.). Different and important in these Gāthic passages, however, is the fact that the suppressed preverb can also apply to verbal forms which are derived from a different root, besides forms of the root with which the preverb was first employed. But this situation is also found in the RV. in the following instances: I 37.7 *nī vo yāmāya māmūṣo, dadhrū ugrāya manyāve j jihīta pārvato girīḥ* 'Mankind cowers at your drive, at your mighty pride. (Even) the mountain peak bends down'. Here *jihīta* stands for *nī jihīta*; cf. VIII 7.34ac *girāyaš cin nī jihate, pārvatāš cin nī yemire*. Also VI 8.3ah *vy āstabhñād rōdasi mitrō ādbhuto, utarvāvad akṛnoj jyōtiṣā tāmaḥ* 'Wondrous M. propped apart the two worlds; he drove away the intervening darkness with light'. Here *akṛnot* stands for *vy ākṛnot*; cf. I 91.22d *tvām jyōtiṣā vi tāmo vavartha*.

*kadā ajān mūθrām ahyā madahyā* 'When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink ...?'. In view of *visantē* and flg. *urūpayeintī*, the form *ajān* must also be 3pl. I therefore take it as 3pl. pres. subj. of a root *aj* 'fear', cognate with Gk. *ákhomai*, Goth. *agis* 'fear', etc. As for *mūθra-*, two things stand in the way of interpreting this word as 'urine': (1) the word means excrement in yAv. and (2) *maēsman-* is the usual word for urine in the Avesta. Thus I attribute the word to the root

*mū* 'be deluded, foolish' appearing in *mūra-* 'dumb' (= Ved. *mūrā-* 'foolish'), Ved. *kāma-mūta-* 'deluded by love', etc., and posit therefore the meaning 'folly' for *mūθra-*.

*yā angrayā karapanō urūpayeintī yācā xratū dušəxšaθrā dalīyinqm* 'because of which (intox. drink) the Karpans as well as the evil rulers of the lands torture our intentions in an evil way'. *karapanō ... yācā dušəxšaθrā dalīyinqm* form a coordinated subject with *urūpayeintī*; cf. 28.3 *astvatasē hyateā* etc. for disc. of coordination.

The word *angrayā* is best taken with Bthlm. (1904, 131) as an adverb 'in an evil way'; cf. Ved. adverbs *āsuyā* 'in a fast way', *dlīṣṣuyā* 'in a bold fashion', etc. Stylistically *angrayā* partly belongs with *karapanō* as an equiv. of the flg. compd. *dušəxšaθrā*, but also points to a suppressed *vahištā* modifying *xratū*. As in 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsītī vahištā*, *xratū* seems to be acc. pl. neut. rather than instr. sg. The implicit intentions are those of the faithful to arise and drive out deceit. Cf. 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sənghāiš suošyantqm xratavō* and the theme of the defeat of deceit spoken of in vss. 1-2, 11-22 of the current hymn.

48.11. *kadā ... ašā maṭ ārmaitiš jinaṭ xšaθrā hušaitiš vāstravaitī* 'When shall piety come along with truth, bringing peace and pasturage throughout the dominion?'. The combination of *ašam* and *ārmaitiš* also occurs at 44.10cd *yā (= daēnā) mōi gaēθā ašā frādōiṭ hacēnmā / ārmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā ...* 'which (vision), in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures through words and actions stemming from piety' and 46.16c *yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where piety is in alliance with truth'. Note also 47.6c *ārmatōiš dābəzayhū ašaliyācā*, where the concept is discussed in detail. In general, however, note that 48.11ab is a variation of 34.11bc *vayhōuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūtī tāvīšī* 'Through the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring powers (for Thee)'. On *hušaitiš vāstravaitī*, cf. 50.2 *yā hūm alunāi* etc.

*kōi drəgvō.dəbīš xrūrāiš rāmqm dāntī* (Jp<sub>1</sub>). In view of 29.2c *yā drəgvō.dəbīš aēšəməm vādāyōiṭ*, it is clear that our passage should be emended to *drəgvō.dəbīš xrūrāiš \*rəməm* 'the fury (caused) by the violent deceitful persons'. Obviously the figures are conscious variations of one another, particularly in view of the juxtaposition of *aēšəmō* and *rəmō* in 29.1b *ā mā aēšəmō ... rəmō hušāyā*. The form *rāmqm* has penetrated into this passage under the influence of 29.10b *yā hušaitiš rāmqmē dāi*, since the text at 48.11bc also has *hušaitiš* and *dāntī* as

surrounding forms. On the principle, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. and note also the same mistake in 49.4a *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšəməm varədan rāməmā*, where the last word also falsely stands in place of orig. *\*rāməm*.

The verbal form *dānti* (Jp<sub>1</sub>) is the preferable reading; var. *dāntē* stems from the influence of *visantē* in vs. 10 and *hacāntē* in vs. 12 above, appearing in exact metrical position. For parallels, cf. introd. p. 8. As mentioned in the preceding vs., *dānti* is abbreviated for *nī dānti*, with the force of the preverb continued from vs. 7a *nī aēšəmō \*dātqm* 'let fury be stopped'. The word *aēšəmō* in that passage also supports the emendation to *\*rāməm* here.

*kāug ā vaṇhāuš jimaṭ manayhā cistiš* 'To which men shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?'. Variation of 43.4e *hyaṭ mōi vaṇhāuš haž jimaṭ manayhō* and 46.3d *kaēihyō ōθāi volū jimaṭ manayhā* 'To whom shall one come with good thinking for the sake of help?'.  
 48.12. *aṭ tōi aṇhan saošyantō dahyumn / yōi xšnām volū manayhā hacāntē* | *šyaoθanāiš ašā θwahiā mazdā sāughahiā* 'Yes, those men shall be the saviors of the lands, who shall follow the knowledge of Thy teaching with actions in harmony with good thinking and with truth, Wise One'. Both *volū manayhā* and *ašā* modify *šyaoθanāiš* as in 34.15ab *aṭ mōi vališā sravdscā šyaoθanācā vaocā, tā tū valū manayhā ašācā* 'Yes, tell me the best words and actions, those in harmony (allied) with good thinking and truth'. In general, syntax and content follow preceding 48.4bc *hvō daēnqm šyaoθanācā vacayhācā ... hacāntē* 'he follows his conception in action and word', which shows that *xšnām* must describe a concept close to that of *daēnqm*. Thus I follow Humbach (1959, I 31) in explaining *xšnām* for orig. *\*xšnqm* (cf. *hīām* 43.8 for *\*hīqm*), namely 'knowledge'. Sense is also clear in the related variant 53.2ab *aṭcā ... scanū manayhā uxδāiš šyaoθanāišcā xšnām* 'Moreover, let them accompany their knowledge with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking'.

This last passage shows that the knowledge can only be that of the true doctrine, and therefore *θwahiā sāughahiā* must depend upon *xšnām*. Zarathustra is saying here that it is not enough to know the correct teaching but one must also bring it to realization. Same idea also appears in 34.10ab *ahiā vaṇhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā vaocaṭ garəbqm luxratuš spəntqmā ārmaitim* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his



understanding and his virtuous piety', where 'understanding' (*garəbun*) must also refer to the Lord's teachings. Note also 44.11bc *kaθā tāng ā vījāmyā! ārmaitiš, yaēibyō mazdā θwōi vašyetē daēnā* 'How shall piety come to those to whom Thy conception is taught, Wise One?'.  
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Our verse thus defines the role of the savior (*saošyant-*), and the relationship between his function and AhM.'s teachings also appears in 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sānghāiš saošyantqm xratavō* 'The intentions of those who shall save are in agreement with Thy mature teachings'. In 49.9a *sraotū sāsna fšānghyō suyē taštō* 'let the cultivator (of good thinking), being one fashioned to save, listen to Thy commands (instructions)', one also sees the same connection between the lord's teachings and the action of the savior. Cf. Addenda.

## Yasna 49

The texture of this Gāthā is created by an antiphonal contrast of the differences between the truthful and the deceitful men. In verse 1 Zarathustra laments to the Wise Lord that, although he has tried throughout his life to bring fulfillment through truth to his fellow men who have been assaulted by the forces of deceit, he has been falsely judged to be a great spoiler, apparently a heretic bent on undermining the traditional social and religious establishment. Consequently, he pleads for the Wise One's intercession and help to put an end to this wrong and damaging opinion. Then, in contrast, he focuses on the deceitful persons in the following verse, on the prophet's hateful opponents who have spread this false judgment, to reveal that they are the true spoilers of this existence. Why? Because they reject the lordly principles of truth and good thinking and the piety and respect for the true god who has offered these values as salvation to mankind. Verse 3 then concludes the first exposition with the affirmation that Zarathustra knows in his depths that truth shall eventually become victorious because it is founded upon the good, and that deceit will be destroyed for it is based on falsity, not only with regard to the ill fame of the prophet but also in its total deceptiveness.

Verse 4 begins the second cycle of contrasts by defining the characteristics of the followers of deceit. Motivated by ill will, the deceitful serve the old gods by bringing fury and hatred upon the followers of truth and good thinking and by increasing the debasement of the world. But, verse 5 stresses, the man who has realized that a better world can exist and who has therefore acted only with good thinking, such a man advances the power of the god of truth and his principles on earth, while he reveals himself to be of the same essence as the Wise One who created these lofty values. Verse 6 then continues the preceding theme of the behavior of the truthful man by asking the Wise One and truth to reveal their intentions concerning the correct conception for their adherents, whereby Zarathustra implies that the Wise One should augment his own views if the prophet's description of the true followers in verse 5 has not been embracing enough.

Verses 7-9 form an interlude. Zarathustra first asks whether there is some group already known which, in its faithfulness and devotion

to the commandments of the Wise One, shall bring glory to the whole of society by advancing the ways of Ahura Mazdā. This is essentially a rhetorical question in that the following verse entreats for truth's alliance for Frashaoshtra and the prophet. For, by the mention of this nobleman's name alongside of his own, Zarathustra thus intends that he has marked the Haugva family to be most devoted to the true cause in this world and therefore fit for the proper help to bring this to pass. Similarly, by intoning the precept in the following verse to Frashaoshtra's brother Jamaspa, the prophet again signals his faith in this family's ability to aid the way of truth in this world.

The precept itself, which contains the message that the truthful man, in denying all connections with the ways of the evil spirit and in allying himself with the ways of truth, shall be saved at the time of the final judgment, thus forms the transition to the last set of contrasts in verses 10 and 11 concerning the future of the truthful and the deceitful. As usual, these state the truthful shall be saved and that the deceitful shall be damned, and they oppose the good thinking, truthfulness, piety and reverence of the truthful man to the deceitful person's evil rule, evil actions and words, evil conceptions and thoughts.

The final verse ends with an oath of Zarathustra, swearing to worship and honor the lofty forces of the Wise One if all will intercede to help bring the rule of truth and good thinking to pass on earth.

49.1. *aṭ mā yavā bōndvō pafrē mazistō / yē dušarəθrīš cixšnušā ašā mazdā*. Syntactically this sequence cannot be separated from the type 28.2ab *yē ... pairi.jasāi ... / maihyō dāvōi*, 28.3ac *yē ... ufyānī ... ā mōi ... jasatā*, 28.4ac *yē ... \*nōng \*airē ... dadē ... / yavaṭ isāi*, 33.5ab *yas ... zbayū ... \*apā*, and 49.12cd below *yē ... frīnāi ... avat yāsqs*, where forms of the 1st person range through the whole formulation. Thus *pafrē* must be 1sg. med. perf. and fully parallel to 11g. *cixšnušā*, while *mā yavā* equally demands the translation 'throughout my lifetime'. On the latter, cf. 29.9c *kadā yavā hvō ayhaṭ* 'When, during my lifetime, shall that person appear?', with the usual placement of a temporal adverb in 2nd position in its clause. Cf. type 30.7c *yaθā ayaṭhā ādānāiš paouruṣō* 'just as He shall be the First during the requitals with the iron'. 43.7d *kaθā ayaṭē* 'How, this day ...?', etc.

For *pafrē*, I follow Lommel (1971, 172), who ascribed the form to *par* 'condemn', although he considered it to be 3sg. perf. Gershevitch's attempt (1959, 245 ff.) to define the meaning of *par* as 'engage, make liable; be engaged, obliged, owe' seems too heavily based on the

Mid. Ir. cognates. If we begin with a fundamental meaning 'to judge as guilty', then we can derive all the senses which this root develops. (1) be guilty: Av. *pāra-* 'guilt', \**āpar-* 'guilty' 45.11, Sogd. *'prtk* 'guilty', etc. (2) condemn: *pafrē* here, *pāšō.tanū-* 'whose person is condemned' 53.9, etc. (3) be guilty for, owe: Arm. *partk* 'debt, guilty', Sogd. *p'r(h)* 'debt', *pwrc* 'debt', etc. This last meaning I see arising out of the basic one through usage with an inner acc. specifying the debt one must discharge because of his guilt. From this employment as well, we can derive the meaning 'atone, repay', since the discharge of the guilt or indebtedness is atonement.

With regard to the difficult *hāndvō*, Geldner's proposal (1926, 12) of 'defiler' (Verpester) seems workable, but the word cannot refer to *angrō mainyuš* according to his interpretation, for it clearly must be a term applied to Zarathustra in this passage. As I see the matter, vs. 1 stands in antithesis to vs. 2, following Zarathustra's typical method of composition. Zarathustra complains that he has been falsely judged to be a terrible afflictor of the folk, even though he has tried to protect the helpless from the real hazard. In the flg. vs. he tells who the true afflictor is and why he is so. Compare, in the same context, 44.12, where Zarathustra raises the question of whether he (the truthful one) or the deceitful person is to be considered evil.

Thus translate: 'Throughout my lifetime I have been condemned as the greatest defiler, I who try to satisfy the poorly protected (creatures) with truth, Wise One'. *dušarəθrīš* requires *gaēθā* (correct, Hinz 1961, 234); the same word is also suppressed in 33.10a \**vīspās* \**tōi hujītayō*. In view of *haratar-* 'guardian' Y. 57.15 etc., *nišharatar-* 'id.' Yt. 10.54, 80, etc. we should emend to \**dušarəθrīš*. Cf. *nišayharəθrī-* Vyt. 14 and the type *θrātar-*: *θrəθrī-* etc. Since the form was not recognizable to the redactors, it was not remade into \**duš.həθrīš*, as in the instances of *huš.haxā* 32.2, *huš.haxāim* 46.13. But notice that *hušānəm* 'of good gain' remains at 53.5 instead of normalization to \**huš.hānəm*.

*vayuhī ādā gaidī mōi* 'If retribution is good, come to me'. In that the proper instr. *vayhuyā ādā* appears at 33.12b, *vayuhī ādā* can only be nom. or voc. here. Voc. *mazdā* in preceding line favors nom. interpretation, and the syntactic value of 'if' of the figure follows normal use of such phrases placed at the head of the line. Cf. 32.8c *aēšqmciš ā ahmī* 'If I am guilty of these things', 46.5c *rašnā jvqs yā ašavā* ... 'If a truthful person living in accordance with this directive ...', 53.4c *ašāunī ašavabyā* 'If she is truthful to the truthful', 53.7d *ivīzayaθā magām tām* 'If ye abandon this task'.

49.2. *aṭ ahyā mā bāndvaliyā mānayeitī ũkaēšō dragvā* 'The deceitful professor of this (condemnation) resembles the defiler'. On the construction of *mānayeitī* with gen., cf. Gershevitch (1952, 177).

*daibitā ašāṭ rārašō* 'deflecting (others) from the truth by himself'. *daibitā* is best taken with Bthlm. (1904, 761) as the equiv. of Ved. *dvitā*. Its meaning, however, appears to be 'by oneself', since it exchanges with *tmānā* 'id.' in the RV. Cf. IX 102.1c *višvā pari priyā bhuvad ādha dvitā* 'He shall protect by himself indeed all his own (creatures)' and III 3.10d *agne višvā paribhūr asi tmānā* 'Agni, thou dost protect all these worlds by thyself'; similarly, IX 94.2a *dvitā vyūrvān amṛtasya dhāma* 'opening by himself the creations for immortality' and I 69.10a *tmānā vāhanto diro vy ũvan* 'conveying (him), they have opened the doors by themselves'; etc.

*nōiṭ spəntqm dōrāšt alunāi stōi ārmaitim | naēdā vohū ... fraštā manayhā* 'Neither has he supported virtuous piety in order that it be his, nor has he taken counsel with good thinking'. The rejection of piety (or obedience) and good thinking by the deceitful occurs also at 44.13ce *tāng ā ... ũōi asruštōiš pəranāghō | nōiṭ frasayā vāghānš cāxnarē manayhō* '... to those who are full of disobedience ... They delight not in the counsel of good thinking'. On their importance for AhM's rule, cf. the *mqθra* 45.5cde and the disc. at 47.1-2.

49.3. *aṭcā alhmāi varənāi ... nidātəm | ašəm sūidyāi ũkaēšāi rāšayeijhē druxš* 'However, it has been fated for this world that the truth is to be saved for its (good) preference, that deceit is to be destroyed for its (false) profession'. The phrases *varənāi ... ašəm sūidyāi* and *ũkaēšō rāšayeijhē druxš* clearly stand in distinct parallelism to one another. Intrusion of *varənāi* into the 1st line is thus the same feature as occurs in 50.3ab *aṭcā alhmāi ... ašā ayhātī | ũqm hōi xšaθrā volmcā cōišṭ manayhā*, where *ašā* cannot but belong with flg. *xšaθrā volmcā ... manayhā*. Consequently, *alhmāi* and *nidātəm* are connected syntactically in the sense 'it is fated for this world'. On the value of *alhmāi*, cf. 30.7 *alhmāicā xšaθrā* etc. The word *nidātəm* is the equiv. of Ved. *hitā* 'fated, determined', e.g. RV. X 59.4c *dyūbhir hitō jarimā sū no asti* 'Let fated old age come well to us in the course of the days', etc.

With regard to the syntax in general, both *ašəm sūidyāi* and *rāšayeijhē druxš* are in apposition to *nidātəm* in exactly the same type of construction encountered in RV. I 165.9ab *amuttam ā te maghavan nākir mī, nā tvāvāṇi asti devātā vidānah* 'It is conceded to thee, liberal one, that no one at all like thee is known to exist among the gods'.

*izyā ... antarā vīspāng drəgvatō haxmāng mruyē* 'I am eager ... to ban all the deceitful ones from our company'. In view of 44.20e *nōiṭ ... \*īzān ... frādaijhe* 'They have not been eager to prosper ...', with inf. dependent upon *iz-*, *mruyē* is also best taken as inf. here at 49.3. Cf. also Śak. (M. Williams) 122a *vyapadeśam āvilayitum kim ihase, janam imam ca pātayitum* 'Why art thou eager to muddy the royal name and to destroy this man?', etc. Last line of 49.3 here belongs thematically with 33.4ab *ya-zāi apā ... vərəzānahyācā nazdištum drujm* 'Through worship I shall drive away (out) the nearest deceit of the community'.

49.4. *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšamam varədan \*ramamcā* (Mss. *rāmamcā*) 'Those who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty (for the cow) ...'. Final *rāmamcā* should be emended to *\*ramamcā*; for disc. cf. 48.11 *kōi drəgvō.dəhīs* etc. Supply *gavōi*, clear from 29.1b (lament of the cow) *ā mā aēšamō ... ramō hišāyā* and the pointed use of *fšuyasū afšuyantō* in the flg. line. On the latter flg., cf. 50.2 *pourušū hvarā pišyasū*.

*x'āiš hizubīs* 'with their own tongues'. Particular stress is laid on this phrase, since Zarathustra concentrates his efforts in this hymn on the false and the true doctrines. Cf. *ikaēšō drəgvā* (vs. 2), *mrūtē*, *srāvaēmə* (vs. 6), *sraotū* (vs. 7), *sraotū sāsnā*, *ərəš.vacā*, *didqs* (vs. 9). Cf. also 45.1de *duš.sastīs ... akā varunā drəgvā hizvā āvarəitā* 'The deceitful one of evil doctrine turned hither with his tongue and its evil preference'.

*yaēsqm nōiṭ hvarštāiš vqs dužvarštā* 'whose evil effects one has not (yet) defeated with good effects'. Belongs with 48.1a *yezi ... ašā drujim vānghanī* 'if one shall defeat deceit with truth', where syntax is discussed.

*tōi daēvōng dqn yā drəgvatō daēnā* 'They have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person'. Related to 32.4ab *yā mašyā acištā dantō vaxšantē daēvō.zuštā*, which should be consulted. *yā drəgvatō daēnā* is antithesis to vs. 6d below *tqm daēnqm yā xšmāvatō ahurā*.

49.5. *aṭ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūtīscā* 'But that person is both milk and butter (for Thee), Wise One ...'. For disc., cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš* etc. The implied sense 'strength and prosperity' of *ižācā āzūtīš* is intended to contrast with *aēšamam \*ramamcā* 'fury and cruelty' in the preceding verse.

*yā daēnqm volū sārəštā managhā* 'who has allied his conception with

good thinking'. Syntax is discussed at 32.2. The juxtaposition of *volū manayhā* with *ārmatōiš* in the next line, meant to characterize the proper behavior of the truthful man, is intended contrast to the description of the deceitful person in vs. 2cd above as *nōiṣ spəntqm dōrašt ... ārmaitīm, naēdā volū ... fraštā manayhā*.

*ārmatōiš kasciṣ ašā lucāntuṣ* 'Any person of piety is of the (same) good lineage with truth'. Gen *ārmatōiš* depends on *kasciṣ*. Similar usage is found at 47.4c *kasāuścīṣ nā* 'a man of even little worth', 51.11c *kā vā vayhāuṣ manayhō* 'which person of good thinking', 51.21a *ārmatōiš nā spəntō* 'Vrituous is the man of piety'. The fig. *ašā lucāntuṣ* is a stylistic variant of 46.13e *ašā ... hūš.haxāin* 'good companion with truth', etc.

49.6. *frō vā iṣyā mazdā ašəmcā* 'I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth'. On syntax, cf. 28.3 *yā vā ašā nfyāni* etc.

*nrūitē yā vā xratōnš xšmākahyā ā.manayhā* 'to tell (us) what the intentions of your will are ...'. Belongs with 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāstū vahištā* 'Let Him command (instruct) me in His best intentions'.

49.7. *kā x'aēnš dātāiš ayhaṣ* 'Which family shall abide by (Thy) laws?'. For disc., cf. 30.11 *aṣ aipī tāiš ayhaiti*.

*yā vərəzənāi vayuhūm dāṣ frasastīm* 'which shall give good fame to the (whole) community'. *vərəzənāi* requires *vispāi*, as *vispā* is also needed in 34.14c *xšmākqm lucistīm ... xratōnš ašā frādō vərəzənā* 'as they further the good understanding of your will with truth throughout the (whole) community'.

49.8. *urvāzištqm ašahyā dā sarāim* 'Do grant that most happy alliance of truth'. Expresses complementary notion to *yā daēuqm volū sārāštā manayhā* 'who has allied his conception with good thinking' (vs. 5). Both *ašəm* and *volū manō* appear together in this same context at 44.1de *aṣ nā ašā fryā dazdyāi hākurəuā / yaθā nā ā volū jinaṣ manayhā* '... and (how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, so that it shall come to us together with good thinking'.

49.9. *sraotū sāsnā fšənghyō snvē taštō* 'Let the cultivator (of good thinking), being fashioned to save, listen to these commands (instructions)'. *fšənghyō* requires *vayhāuṣ manayhō* acc. to 31.10b *vayhāuṣ fšənglīm manayhō*. On the relationship between the *saošyant*- and AhM.'s commands, cf. 48.12. The flg. 3 lines, up to *dājāmāspā*, are a direct citation of AhM.'s *sāsnā*. Cf. Y. 45 for characteristic usage.

*nōiṭ arāš.vacā sarām didqs drəgvatā* 'The true-speaking man has never professed alliance with the deceitful one (= the evil spirit)'. *sarām drəgvatā* is purposeful contrast to preceding *ašahyā sarām*, and therefore *drəgvatā* clearly stands for *anгрā mainyuš*. Passage related to Y. 12.4 *vi daēvāiš ayāiš ... sarām mruyē* 'I deny alliance with the evil gods'. Note also that this line resumes the theme of vs. 3d *antarā višpāng drəgvatō haṣmāng mruyē*.

*hyai daēnā vaḥištē yūjān miždē ašā yuxtā yāhi* 'since those yoked with truth have yoked their conceptions on the best prize when the retribution comes'. *ašā yuxtā* 'those yoked with truth' is a metaphor for the truthful. For parallels, cf. 30.10 *asīštā yaojantē ā hušitāiš* etc. *yāhi* is best taken as loc. abs.: for parallels, cf. 31.19 *vaḥhān vidātā rənaγā*.

*dājāmāspā* is difficult, but in context it can only be a voc. standing outside of the preceding citation. When the preceding vs. contains *fərašaoštrāi*, it may be presumed that Zarathustra had composed this lyric for use in that prince's court. Thus the employment of voc. *dājāmāspā* here may simply indicate that Zarathustra had directed these words especially to Jāmāspa, since he recognized in him the potential of a *saošyant*-. Cf. line a *sraatū sāsna fšānghyō snyē taštō*.

49.10. *taṭcā* belongs with the flg. *manō vohū*, since each term in this sequence is connected to the others by *cā*. On coordination, cf. 31.21 *haurvatō amərətātascā* etc.

*nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ižācā* 'and reverence with which are allied piety and milk'. Both *ārmaitiš* and *ižācā* are comit. instrs. linked with *nəmas*- by the rel. pron. *yā*. Syntax is discussed at 32.2 (end). Note that *ārmaitiš ižācā* 'piety and milk' is employed metaphorically for 'piety and strength (resulting from this piety)', with the same symbolic usage seen in vs. 5a above *aṭ hvō ... ižācā āzūitišcā*. Thus another instance of the theme of the interdependency of god's power and the piety and respect which men allot to it. Cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varadaiti ārmaitiš*.

*avāmīrā* is unclear. However, if one is willing to admit with Lommel (1935a, 145) a confusion of -v- and -n- at some stage of the earlier written version of the text, then an emendation to *\*anāmīrā* might be possible. This would be the equiv. of a Ved. form *\*an-ā-mīrā* 'inalterable', -rā- adj. to *ā mī* 'alter, change'. Cf. RV. I 113.2d *dyāvā vāṛṇam carata āmināne* 'Day and night follow one another, altering their color', I 96.5a *naktaṣāṣā vāṛṇam āmémyāne*, etc. Thus *vazdahā* *\*anāmīrā* would mean 'with an inalterable permanence', with *vazdah-*



a noun corresponding to *vazdvar/n-* in 31.21bc *sarō vaṇhōuš vazdvarō manayhō* 'the permanence of good thinking's alliance'.

49.11. *dušaxšaθrōng duš.šyaoθanōng dužvacayhō duždaēnōng dužmanayhō* as a description of the deceitful here (*drəgvatō*) contrasts with the characterization of the virtuous and pious man (*ārmatōiš nā spəntō*) at 51.21ab as *spəntō hvō cistī uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš daēnā* 'virtuous by reason of his understanding, his words, his actions and his conception'.

*paitī urvqñō yantō ... ayhan* 'they shall be ..., as their souls continue to encounter (them) ...'. The reading *yantō* (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5</sub> originally) is preferable, since a pres. part. can be used alongside of a subj. form more easily than an indic. *yeinti*. On the syntax, cf. 28.5a *kaṭ θwā darəsānī ... vaēcləmñō*, 34.6c *yaθā vā yazəmuascā ... stavas ayeñi paitī*, etc. For the value of the pres. part., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frīnamnā* etc.

49.12. *kaṭ tōi ašā zbayentē avayhō zaraθuštrāi* 'What (sort of) help by truth hast Thou for Zarathustra who calls?'. *avayhō* is partitive gen. dependent upon *kaṭ*; cf. 34.12a *kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*. However, in *tōi ašā ... avayhō* and in the flg. *kaṭ tōi vohū manayhā*, the instrs. modify *avayhō*, but this last word belongs with *tōi*. Syntax is thus similar to 46.9de *yā tōi ašā, tā tōi vohū manayhā* 'which things of Thine are in harmony with truth ... those things of Thine in harmony with good thinking'.

*avaṭ yāsqs hyaṭ vā ištā vahištəm* 'while continuing to entreat for the best which exists in your power'. *hyaṭ vā ištā vahištəm* is metonymy for \* ... *vā ištīm vahištəm* = *vohū (vahištəm) xšaθrəm*. Similarly, 45.4ab *vahištəm ašāṭ hacā* = *ašəm vahištəm*; also at 51.22a.

## Yasna 50

This lyric is essentially a hymn of praise to honor the Wise Lord as the creator of truth and good thinking, those instruments of the good which alone can benefit the advancement of the human condition on earth. Zarathustra sets the tone of this Gāthā at once in the first verse by asking if there is any other means of protection for him and his following in this world of deceit apart from the help of the Wise Lord and his truth and good thinking. The following verse 2 then explains, by means of its questions, that it is only through the rule of truth and good thinking that peace might come to the world and only through the efforts of the man who tries to live honestly according to its principles, despite the deceit and betrayal occurring around him. For such a devoted and heroic undertaking on the part of the truthful man, verse 3 continues, shall win ever increasing support for the Wise Lord and his lofty values, which otherwise would go to strengthen the forces of deceit.

Verse 4 now continues this motif by promising to worship and obey the Wise Lord with his own enduring values through which a good and virtuous rule, analogous to that of the Lord's own, might come to pass in this world. And the next verse entreats for wisdom and truth to arise among men on earth in order for them to comprehend that happiness in their own existence must be built upon these very qualities which the Wise Lord has created and sustained in his own world.

In verses 6-9 Zarathustra now expresses his fundamental alliance with these forces of the Wise Lord. First avowing his commitment to truth, the prophet asks for the lord's direction to be given to him through his own grasp of good thinking. The reason is then stated in verse 8: The prophet shall lead those others who are similarly devoted to the ways of truth and good thinking to further the cause of these high principles on earth. The next 2 verses explain that this shall come to pass through the sacred and profane dimensions of bringing honor to the Wise One by means of words and acts of truth and good thinking in both the holy and secular spheres of activity.

The final verses 10 and 11 focus of Ahura Mazda's creative powers. Zarathustra first mentions that the visible accomplishments of the Wise Lord, such as the sun and the moon, are reason enough to merit praise for the Wise Lord's fundamental creative character. But,

as Zarathustra implies, these are to serve as signs to mark the Wise One's more subtle creation of the moral values of truth and good thinking, for which a true and understanding man like the prophet shall eternally swear his devotion and respect to the lord. Such allegiance must compel the Wise One to aid in establishing these very qualities in the world of man and thereby to elevate the life of man through truth and good thinking.

50.1. *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō* 'Does my person have control over anyone who can offer help?'. It is best to interpret *avayhō* as belonging to a possessive adj. *avah-*. For disc., cf. 32.11 *raēxanah-*.

*kā mā.nā θrātō vīstō | anyō ašāṭ θwaṭcā mazdā alurā | ... vahištāṭcā manayhō* 'Who has been found to be my protector other than truth and Thee, Wise Lord, and the best thinking?'. Variant of 34.5ab *kaṭ vō xšaθrām ... mazdā ... ašā vohū manayhā θrāyōidyāi drīgūm* 'Have ye the mastery, Wise One, to protect your needy dependent with truth and good thinking?', where *alhurō mazdā*, *ašām* and *vohū manō* are all three associated with the protection of Zarathustra (same root *θrā*).

*a-dā zūtā* 'when the call really occurs' is loc. abs. For parallels, cf. 31.19 *vayhāu vidātā rṇayā*. The phrase *a-dā zūtā* has been fronted before the caesura, since *vahištāṭcā manayhō* cannot metrically fit in this position. For disc., cf. 44.2 *hvō zī ... irixtām* etc.

50.2. *kaθā ... gəm iśasōiṭ* 'How should one seek the cow?' belongs with 31.4bc *vahištā iśasā manayhā maihyō xšaθrām* 'With the very best thinking I shall seek for myself their rule'. This answers the current question: one should seek for the cow (the good vision) with good thinking. Both *iśasōiṭ* and *iśasā* in the parallel are for *\*iśōiṭ* and *\*iśā*; cf. 30.1 *iśantō*.

*yā hūm alimāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ* 'the one who might wish her who brings pasturage to be his'. Syntax follows 49.2c *nōiṭ spəntqm dōrāšt alimāi stōi ārmaitīm* 'He has not supported virtuous piety in order that it be his'. The association of the cow and pasturage is twofold in the Gāthās. On the one hand, the faithful must offer their piety and acceptance (expressed as *vāstrām*) in order to prosper the good vision; on the other hand, the good vision brings peace and freedom to the truthful. Thus *vāstravant-* has the same connotation as the later yAv. term *vouru.gaoyūti-* 'bringing broad pastures, bringing peace' (cp. Ved. *prthukṣiti-* etc.), and also appears in this usage in 48.11ab

*kadā ... ārmaitīš jimaṣ xšaθrā hušəitiš vāstravaii* 'When shall piety come, bringing peace and pasturage (= freedom) throughout the dominion?'. Similarly, 48.6a says of the cow: *hā zī nā hušəiθamā* 'she will bring peace to us'. Thus equiv. to 29.10b *yā hušəitiš rāmqmcā dāf*.

*arəžəjiš ašā pəurušū hvarə pišyasū* (H<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>6</sub>, etc.) 'as he lives honestly by truth among the many who lie in secret'. On *arəžəjiš ašā*, cf. 28.1 *mainyōuš ... spəmahyā ašā*.

*pəurušū hvarə pišyasū* cannot mean 'among the many seeing the sun' for two reasons. (1) The root 'to see' in Iranian is only *spas*, never *\*pas*; cf. *spašyā* 44.11. *spašuθā* 53.6. (2) *hvarə* is monosyllabic here, whereas *hvar/n-* 'sun' is always disyllabic in the Gāthās. Solution offered by 29.5c *uōi arəžəjyōi ... drəgvasū pairi*, for *arəžəjiš* must contrast with *pišyasū* in 50.2 here exactly as it does with *drəgvasū* in 29.5c. With inversion of the truthful and deceitful, cf. also 49.4b *fšuyasū afšuyarītō*. Note also 43.15d *pəurūš drəgvatō* 'the many deceitful'.

I therefore associate the part. *pišyant-* with Ved. *pišuna-* 'liar, betrayer'. Cf. RV. VII 104.20c *śiṣite śakrāḥ pišunebhyo vadhām* 'The able one sharpens his weapon for the liars'. Same meaning also valid in 44.20b, where it refers to the gods: *yōi pišyeintī* (read *\*pišyeintī*) *aēihyō kəm* 'who lie to (betray) those (deceitful rulers) ...'. Intended is the deception, betrayal of men by the gods expressed in 32.5a. As for the orthography, *pišyeintī* for *\*pišyeintī* in 44.20 shows the influence of the form *šyeintī* YH. 37.2, 39.3, which contains the most common sequence of these sounds. The initial *piš-* in turn has penetrated into the var. *pišyasū* etc. of *pišyasū* here at 50.2, but an examination of the variant readings in the current passage shows the *piš-* is the correct form of the initial. On these processes, cf. introd. p. 13 ff.

*hvarə* therefore belongs best with Ved. *sasvār* 'secretly'. Cf. RV. VII 60.10ab *sasvāś cid dhi sāṃptis tveṣy eṣām, apīcyēna sāhasā sāhante* 'Their violent attack comes secretly: they overpower with hidden force'.

*ākāstāng mā nišqsyā dāθəm dāhvā*. This must contain a contrasting statement, as in the previous line, about the truthful and the deceitful. The phrase *dāθəm dāhvā* permits the translation 'Receive (accept) the just man' acc. to 33.12a *ārmaiti tavišim dasvā* 'Receive power through our piety' and RV. VII 31.12ab *īndram ... satrā rājānam dadhire* 'They have completely accepted Indra as their king', etc. The preceding phrase should therefore mean 'Reject the deceitful'.

or the like. Recalling 44.13b *kaθā druḡam niš almaḡ ā nāšāmā* 'How shall we drive away (repel) deceit away from us?', it is clear that *tāng nišqsyā* must belong to the same type of locution. Thus the form should be segmented as *niš-qsyā*, and both forms are to be derived from *niš na(n)s*: pres. *qs-ya-*, s-aor. *nāš-*.

Furthermore, the reading *ākās* is doubtful, since we should expect *\*ākās(tāng)* in view of *ākā* 48.8, 50.4, 51.13. I therefore suggest emending to *\*akqstāng* 'these evil ones' = *pisyantō*, which then would serve as a fitting contrast to *dāθām*. The orig. reading apparently has been disturbed by the appearance of *ākā* in flg. vs. 4. On the process, cf. introd. p. 9. Thus translate: 'Reject these evil ones indeed, but accept the just man'. Equiv. to the theme of destroy the deceitful, save the truthful, and the type represented by the contrast 47.5e *hanarā θwalmāḡ zaosāḡ drəgvā \*baxšaitē* 'The deceitful person shall have his share apart from Thy approval' and 33.10b *θwalmi hiš zaosē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give these (whose way of life is good for Thee) a share in Thy approval'.

50.3. *aḡciḡ alimāi ... ašā aḡhaiti | yqm hōi xšaθrā volucā cōišṭ manayhā* 'For she indeed shall be for that person, she whom one has promised to him during the rule of truth and good thinking'. The instr. *ašā* cannot be separated from the flg. *xšaθrā volucā ... manayhā*, for this stands for the normal type 30.7a *xšaθrā ... manayhā volū ašācā*, where all the parallels are given. Intrusion of *ašā* into the 1st line thus identical to feature in 49.3ab *varənāi ... | ašām sūidyāi ḡkaēšāi rāšayejhē druxš*. Cf. also 48.12bc *volū manayhā ... | šyaoθanāiš ašā*, where both *volū manayhā* and *ašā* modify *šyaoθanāiš*.

These lines contain the important repeated idea that the cow, i.e. the good vision, will best prosper during the advent of AhM.'s rule of truth and good thinking on earth. The choice of *ašā ... xšaθrā volucā manayhā* is intended to contrast with *pourušū hvarā piyasū* of the preceding vs.

*yqm uo=dištqm gaēθqm drəgvā \*baxšaitē* (Mss. *baxšaiti*) 'his nearest fellow creature whom the deceitful one (= evil spirit) shall (otherwise) appropriate'. *drəgvā* in context here must be usual epithet of *angrō mainyus*: cf. 31.15. *baxšaiti* here, as in 47.5, is definitely a replacement of orig. *\*baxšaitē*, since the current passage is clearly meant to convey the same meaning seen in Ved. med. *bhāj* in RV. I 20.8bc *ābhajanta snkṛtyāyā, bhāgāṃ devēṣu yajñīyam* 'By reason of their skillfulness they received as their share a worshipful portion among

the gods': the point being, if a man does not choose to ally himself with AhM., then the evil spirit most certainly shall take him as his rightful share, much as he would take the offerings which his followers present to him. The change of \**baxšaitē* to *baxšaitī* has been effected by the influence of *aṇhaitī* in line a of this verse and by *baraitī* in vs. 6a, both of which appear in identical metrical position in the line. Subsequent introduction of *baxšaitī* into 47.5 results from the attempt to normalize the text. On both processes, cf. introd. p. 8. 12. Note that both 47.5bc and 50.3bd are textually related: 47.5bc *ašānmē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā ... drəgvā baxšaitī* and 50.3bd *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā cōiš manayhā ... drəgvā baxšaitī*; the similar ending *drəgvā baxšaitī* in each passage was the grounds for normalization.

50.4. *aṭ rā yezāi ... ahurā / hadā ašā vahištācā manayhā : xšaθrācā rā ...* 'I shall always worship you, Lord, with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which ...'. The instrs. *ašā* and *vahištācā manayhā xšaθrācā* are not to be taken comitatively with the voc. *mazdā ahurā*. For if this were the case, then we would expect acc. forms parallel to the acc. pron. *rā*, as appears in 28.3ab *yō rā ašā ufrānī manascā vohū ... mazdāmcā ahurām*. Syntax thus similar to 50.9ab below *tāiš rā yasnāiš paitī ... ayenī / mazdā ašā vayhāuš šyaoθanāiš manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with worship, Wise One, and with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth', which is paraphrase of the current statement. It is also important to note that *xšaθrā* must refer back to preceding *ašā* and *vahištācā manayhā* in consequence of the fig. *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā manayhā* appearing in the preceding vs. The disjunctive use of *xšaθrām* with preceding *ašām* and *vohū manō* is discussed at 29.11 *kudā ašām* etc.

*ākā aradrāng dānānē garō sərəaošānē* 'I shall obey (you) the truly sincere ones existing in the House of Song'. *sərəaošānē* is best translated as 'I shall obey' in light of RV. I 68.9b *śrāṣan yé asya śāsam turāsaḥ* 'The swift ones who shall obey his order'. Thus the juxtaposition *xšaθrā ... sərəaošānē* recalls 33.5ab *sərəaošām zbayā ... \*apā ... xšaθrām*, 33.14c *sərəaošām xšaθrāmcā*, which is, in all cases, a stylistic variant of the usual fig. *xšaθrām ... ārmaitiš*. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varadaitī ārmaitiš*.

50.5. *ārāi zī xsmā mazdā ašā ahurā* 'Indeed let wisdom arise (come) in the company of truth across the earth, Lord'. Translation follows RV. VII 39.3a *jmayā āra vāsavo 'ranta devāḥ* 'The good gods shall

come (arise) here across the earth'. *ārāi* is thus for jussive inf. *\*arāi*, which also appears as *\*airē* 28.4; its use here in impv. function follows employment of related *uziraidyāi* in 43.14d *uziraidyāi azē sarədanā sēnghahyā* 'Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching'. For juss. inf., cf. 34.3 *ārāi zī hudāghō* etc. Interpretation of *ārōi* as perf. form is excluded since it is clear from the remainder of the verse that AhM. is not yet on hand. Related: 33.12a *uz mōi ārašvā ahurā*; also cf. 29.11a *aṭ \*maṇi ašā*.

*xšmā* is the equiv. of yAv. *zāmā* = Ved. *jṃā*. On function of the instr., cf. 30.7 *ayaṇhā ādānāiš*.

Note that *mazdā* is employed appellatively here, a use also found in 53.3c *ašahyā mazdāscā taibyō dāt sarəmi* 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and of wisdom'. The coupling of *ašəm* with *mazdā* in 53.3c thus seems to show that *ašā* is also comitative in *ārōi ... mazdā ašā* here. Support also comes from the above-cited parallel 43.14de, since the inf. there is also connected with a comit. instr.: *uziraidyāi ... maṭ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi maθrā narəntī*. Cf. also the type represented by 44.1e *yaθā nā ā rohū jimaṭ manayhā* 'so that it (= truth) shall come to us along with good thinking'.

*aibī.dərəštā āvišyā avayhā* 'Reveal Thyself with visible help'. I take *āvišyā* as impv. to a denom. *āvišyati* from *āviš* 'manifest' (cf. SI. 1965, 17 ln 3). The sequence *hyaṭ vaorāzaθā ... āvišyā* 'If ye shall be pleased ... (then) reveal Thyself' thus follows 46.12abd *hyaṭ us ... jān ... aṭ iš hām.aibī.mōiš* 'Since thou didst arise ... therefore did He unite them'. etc. 29.2b *hyaṭ him dātā ... hadā ... θwaxšō* 'If ye placed her ... always (let there be) zeal' also belongs here.

50.6. *urvaθō ašā nəmayhā zaraθuštrō* 'reverent Zarathustra is an ally with (= of) truth'. The fig. *urvaθō ašā* belongs with 32.2b *ašā huš.huxā* 'good companion of truth'; acc. in 46.13e *ašā ... huš.haxāim*. The form *nəmayhā* is best taken as nom. sg. of *nəmayhan* = 'reverent' (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1068) because of preceding *maθrā* from *maθran* 'prophet'.

*xratāuš hižvō raithīm stōi* 'to be the charioteer of (my) will and tongue'. *xratāuš* and *hižvō* are coordinated asyndetically: this combination is the equiv. of *manayhasca ... hižvasca* in P. 28 *manayhasca hunaiti hižvasca \*hūxti zastayasca \*hvaršti*. Cf. also RV. X 53.11b *apīcyēna māuasotā jilivāyā* 'with secret mind and (secret) tongue'. Here Zarathustra is simply saying that AhM. should tell him what he is to think and to say. Note similar juxtaposition in RV. VI 9.6d *kiṇi sviḍ*

*vakṣyāmi kim u nū manīṣye* 'What indeed shall I say now, and what shall I think?'.  
*dātā ... mahyā rāzāng vohū sāhiṭ manayhā* 'May the Creator instruct (command) through good thinking (the course) of my direction'. The use of *raiθim* 'charioteer' in the preceding line and of *zavištyāng aurvatō* 'swiftest steeds'. *azāθā* 'shall drive, race' in the next verse shows that the language of these lines has been borrowed from the terminology of horse-racing. Consequently, I supply *yānuānam* to *sāhiṭ*; cf. \**yāmāng* 48.2.

50.7. *aṭ vā yarojā zavištyāng aurvatō* 'Yes, I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds'. Metaphor for the community of the faithful; cf. 30.10 (final para.).

*aśā ugrāng vohū manayhā* 'strong with both truth and good thinking'. Corresponds to the repeated notion that truth and good thinking strengthen the adherents of AhM. Cf. 33.11a *aśmēā frādaṭ gaēθam* 'truth which prospers the creatures'. 34.3b *gaēθā vispā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā manayhā* 'all the creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking', etc.

*yāis azāθā malunāi hīyātā avaijhē* 'with which ye shall drive (race), would ye be ready for my help'. In general, this vs. is a variation of 30.10, which should be consulted.

50.8. *maṭ vā pedāis yā frasrūnā iṣayā pairijasāi* 'I shall serve you with the famed foot-prints of the milk(-offering)'. This is essentially a metaphor for worship, which is directly expressed in the next vs. as *tāis vā yasnāis paiti ... ayeni* 'I shall encounter you with such worship' in line a.

*aṭ vā (pairijasāi) vajhāuš manayhō hmaratātā* 'and (I shall serve) you with the skillfulness of good thinking'. Stylistic variant of 28.2a *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairi.jasāi vohū manayhā* 'I who shall serve you with good thinking ...'. Corresponds to *vajhāuš šyaοθanāis manayhō* in flg. vs. 9b.

50.9. *tāis vā yasnāis paiti stavas ayeni* belongs with the Ved. type RV. 1 171.1a *prāti va enā nāmasāhām emi*.

*aśā vajhāuš šyaοθanāis manayhō* 'with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth'. For disc., cf. 43.2 *yā dā aśā* etc.

*yadā aśōis mahiyā vasā xšayā* 'when I could rule at will over my reward'. *xšayā* is 1sg. opt. corresponding to flg. *hīyām*. The form has



been contracted in the oral transmission from \*xšaya(i)yā (cf. SI. 1965, 21). For other exx., cf. 28.7 *srāvīmā* and introd. p. 18 f.

*aṭ hūdānaoṣ iṣayqs gərəzdā hīyām* 'then I would be in the footing of the blessed one (= truth)'. I take *iṣayqs* as denom. part. to *iš-* 'power'; the force of the word is clearly intended to resume the notion of *xšayā* in the preceding line. Thus an instance of the typical juxtaposition of *xšaθrām* and *ištiš*; cf. 28.7 *dāidī ... vištāspāi* etc. For *gərəzdā*, I follow Bthlm. (1904, 524) in interpreting the form as loc. to a stem *gərəzdi-* belonging to the root *grad* 'gradi'. The sense of the word seems to me to be more 'step, stride', like Lat. *gradus*, than 'Inbesitznehmen', as he understood it. In general, 50.9d here is thematically related to the type 33.5bc *\*apā ... ašāṭ ā ərəzūš paθō* 'I shall attain the paths straight in accord with truth'.

*hūdānaoṣ* thus clearly requires *ašahyā*, apparent also from parallel 51.17bc ... *hōi iṣyqm dānū ... ahurō ašahyā āždyāi gərəzdīm* 'Let the Lord grant power to him, for him to attain the footing of truth'. The word *iṣyqm* in this latter passage also supports interpretation of current form *iṣayqs*. To my mind, *ašahyā pantā* 'the path of truth' describes the object, *ašahyā gərəzdiš* 'the stride of truth' the process, by which one proceeds in the proper way. Both correspond to verbal usage seen in 34.13bc *ašācī urvāxšaṭ hyaṭ cavištā huddābyō miždam* '(along which) one shall proceed in alliance with truth to the prize which has been promised to the beneficent'.

50.10. *aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairi āiš šyaobanā* 'Yes, those things which Thou hast brought to realization and those which Thou hast reached by Thy action ...'. From the structure of the line it is clear that *pairi āiš* is a verbal form parallel to preceding *varəšā*. Thus both are 2sg. forms, and *pairi āiš* is the equiv. of Ved. *pāri eti* 'reach, attain'. Cf. TS. 7.5.8.3 *tāsāṃ rājanauaivā rājyāṃ pāry ait* 'With the rājana (sāman) he attained sovereignty over them'; RV. I 123.8d *ekaikā krātum pāri yanti sadydā* 'One by one they attain to his intention in a single day'; etc.

*cašmqm* is for *\*cašmqm* (cf. 29.10 *rāmqincā*) and is loc.; thus equiv. to *cašmaini* 31.8, 45.8.

*asnqm uxšā aēuruš* 'the bright(?) bull of the heavens'. Probably the moon in contrast to preceding *raocā xšang* 'the lights of the sun'. On *asnqm*, cf. 46.3 *uxšānō asnqm*.

## Yasna 51

In the beginning of this Gāthā Zarathustra describes the clearest picture of his vision of the rule of good thinking and of truth, which is the realization on earth of those eternal values which characterize the very nature of the Wise Lord himself (2). This is the good rule which must be chosen for the progress of the world, and which shall achieve the highest good and the most fortunate existence on earth (1) by the promotion of protection, mercy and piety, founded upon and working together with the noble principles of truth and good thinking (4). Through mankind's determination to achieve this exalted state, through its proper choice between the acceptance of good or evil (5), it shall further the wish of the Wise One and grant to him strength so that he may save those who shall follow in the true ways of their lord and damn those who reject his means of salvation (6).

Once having described the nature of the rule of truth and good thinking, Zarathustra next concentrates in verses 8-15 on defining the character of the truthful man who strives to bring this rule to realization and on the character of his deceitful opponents who impede its advent. As usual, we find their contrasting outlooks and behavior, and the repeated mention of the differing fates which await each. This section serves as a prelude to verses 16-19, in which the prophet praises his supporters Vishtaspa, Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa, and the Madyoimaha branch of his own family. By their understanding and their piety, by their respect and their promotion of the values of the Wise Lord, they have indeed proved themselves to be devoted and faithful representatives of those who further the cause of the true and good rule on earth.

Verse 20 then implores for the advent of the rule of truth and good thinking on earth, and offers in return the promise of worship and reverence for the Wise Lord who first created these if this shall occur. The Gāthā finally ends with two citations of holy prayers, undoubtedly intended to reflect words stemming from the Wise One himself. The first defines the complementary nature of the virtuous man and of the virtuous rule of truth and good thinking, and describes how the good rule can come to pass only by the awakening of piety and understanding and by the enactment of good word, deed and conception in mankind. The second similarly affirms that the best truth shall

come to pass by the worship of the Wise One by those very qualities of truth and good thinking, which the lord created, as well as by piety and wisdom. These prayers thus return to the theme of verse 1, in which Zarathustra states that he shall bring the good rule to pass. These last verses indeed define the only correct and true way for this to happen.

51.1. *bāgəm aibi.bairištəm* 'which best brings good fortune'. Cf. RV. II 7.7cd ... *ūpa māsy ā bhara, daddhi bhāgəm tanvō yēna māmāhaḥ* 'Mele out, bring hither and grant that good fortune by which thou shalt elevate our persons'.

*vidišənuuāi ižāciṭ* 'for the person serving it with milk'. Sense here is purposely ambiguous. On the one hand, *ižāciṭ* is to be taken literally as 'with a milk-offering', thus comparable to the Ved. type RV. VIII 96.8d *śuṣmanī ta enā haviṣā vidhema* 'May we serve thy strength with this oblation', in which case *ižāciṭ* is the same as *yasnā*; cf. 50.8. On the other hand, *ižāciṭ* is employed metaphorically in the sense 'with strength' (cf. 29.7 *təm āzūtōiš* etc.), whereby Zarathustra again refers to the interdependency of AhM.'s rule and the piety and devotion which the faithful grant to it. On this latter point, cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*.

*vidišənuuāi* belongs to a denom. \**vidišati* built to *vidišā-* 'service'. For disc., cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

*ašā antarə.caraiti ... vališštəm* 'In alliance with truth it shall encompass the best (for us)'. Here *ašā* is clearly comit. instr. with implied subject *xšaθrəm*, for in this hymn AhM.'s rule is called *xšaθrəm xsmākəm volū manajhā* in the flg. vs. 2bc, and thus the usage here in vs. 1 is meant to be the same as 30.7a *xšaθrā ... manajhā volū ašācā* 'the rule in alliance with good thinking and truth'. Cf. latter passage for disc.

*antarə.caraiti* I take as aor. subj. to *antar kar* 'internalize, encompass'. Functions as antonym to Ved. *idhak kṛ* 'put to the side, reject'.

*taṭ (= xšaθrəm) nō nūciṭ varəšanē* 'This very rule shall I now indeed bring to realization for us'. Belongs with 33.5b \**apā \*uō (\*nā) \*darə-gō.jyāiti ā xšaθrəm vajhāuš manajhō* 'I shall attain for us the long-lived rule of good thinking'.

51.2. *tā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā \*ašāyēcā* (Mss. *ašā, ašāi yēcā*) 'These things first belonged to you — to Thee, Wise Lord, and to truth'. The pron. *tā* refers back to *volū xšaθrəm, bāgəm* and *vališštəm*.

As in 30.1bc *vayhāuš manayhō ... ašā yecā*, \**ašāyācā* is required: cf. passage for disc. The point Zarathustra is making here is that men can duplicate the good rule of god by proper behavior.

*taibyācā ārmaitē dōišā mōi ištōiš* 'But to thee, piety, I shall reveal these in consequence of my power'. This follows as a natural statement to the preceding line. In addressing piety, Zarathustra is saying that through the piety of the faithful and their trust in the prophet, the values which naturally belong to god can now also belong to man. Thus resumes the theme of *vīdīšamnāi ižācī* in the previous vs. The passage also belongs with 44.10e *maliyā cistōiš \*θwā.īštīš usōn mazdā* 'In consequence of my insight, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One', but with emphasis reversed. Namely, 'In consequence of my power, they desire the insights of the Lord'.

*xšaθrām xšmākam volū manayhā* cannot be broken syntactically in view of all the exx. discussed at 30.7 *xšaθrā ... volū manayhā ašācā*.

*valmāi dāidī savayhō* 'Grant it for the glory of the Mighty One'. *ārmaitīš* is implicit subject of *dāidī*, because it is only the piety of the truthful which will bring the rule of good thinking and truth to pass on earth.

51.3. *yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārəntē* 'Those who are allied with you by their actions'. For disc., cf. 32.2.

*ahurō ašā hizvā uxδāiš vayhāuš manayhō* '(Thou art) Lord by reason of Thy tongue (which is) in harmony with truth and by reason of Thy words stemming from good thinking'. The fig. *ašā hizvā* belongs with the type 33.14c *šyaoθanahyā ašā ... uxδaliyācā* 'of the action and word in harmony with truth' (cf. 32.2.), and the type *uxδāiš vayhāuš manayhō* (abl.) is discussed at 34.10. Essentially the appearance here of *ašām* and *volū manō* is to be understood to be in parallel, as is the case in 34.15ab *aī mōi valīštā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā, tā tū volū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell to me the best words and actions: those in harmony with good thinking and with truth'.

51.4. *kuθrō ārōiš ā fšaratuš* 'Where shall there be protection instead of injury?'. Use of abl. in *ārōiš ā* is similar to the construction in 32.12c *ašāī varatā karapā ... drujīm* 'the Karpan chose deceit instead of truth'. Cf. also RV. I 63.7d *aṇhō rājan vārivaḥ pūrōve kaḥ* 'King, for Puru didst thou bring about freedom in place of anxiety'. Theme of injury is resumed in 51.14b below *gavōi ārōiš ā sāndō*.

This verse is important insofar as the elements mentioned, viz.

*fsaratūš* 'protection' (equiv. to Ved. *śárman-*), *mərəždikā* 'mercy', *ārmaitiš* 'piety', *ašəm* 'truth' and *manō vahištəm* 'best thinking', are intended to define the foundation of the best existence.

51.5. *vīspā tā pərəsqš yaθā ašāt hacā gəm \*vidāt* (Mss. *vidať*) / *vāstryō šyaoθanāiš ərašvō* 'Through all this I am asking how the pastor, lofty by reason of his actions, shall serve the cow (= the good vision)'. This question is answered to a large measure in 34.10ab *ahyā vaŋhūš manayhā šyaoθanā vaocať gərəbqm luxratūš spəntqmčā ārmaitīm* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety'. The answer is also paraphrased in 51.21ab below *ārmatōiš nā spəntō livō cistī uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš daēnā* 'Virtuous is the man of piety by reason of his understanding, his words and action, his vision', where each term has a correspondence in 34.10ab. Cp. *ārmatōiš nā spəntō*: *spəntqmčā ārmaitīm*; *cistī*: *gərəbqm*; *uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš*: *vaŋhūš manayhā šyaoθanā*; *daēnā*: *luxratūš*.

Close syntactic parallel 31.14ac *θwā pərəsā ... yaθā tā aŋhan* 'I ask Thee ... how they shall occur' etc. shows clearly that a subj. is the correct mood in a future-value *yaθā*-clause. Cf. also 29.4c *aθā nā aŋhať yaθā livō vasať*, 30.4b *yaθācā aŋhať apəməm aŋhuš*, etc. Consequently, the reading *vidať* must be emended to *\*vidāt*; cf. especially the antithesis *yā hōi nōiť vidāiti* in the flg. vs. and *vidāt* 53.4. Orig. *\*vidāt* has been changed to *vidať* under the influence of *axštāť* (vs. 4) and *rādať* (vs. 6), which appear in identical metrical position in the line. Cf. *vərəzyāť* 47.2, for which most Mss. offer *vərəzyať* under the effects of *həni.tašať* (47.3) and *aŋhať* (47.4) in similar metrical position. Cf. also introd. p. 8.

*huš luxratūš nəmanayhā* 'being a reverent man of good determination'. The use of *luxratūš* here with preceding *gəm* recalls 28.1c *vaŋhūš xratūm manayhō yā xšnəvīšā gəuščā urvənəm* 'through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow'. Cited passage also shows interdependency of man's good thinking and the good vision discussed above.

*yā dāθaēihyō əraš ratūm ... cistā* 'who has correctly understood the (proper) judgment for the just people'. *əraš cistā* paraphrases *luxratūš* and thus corresponds to *cistī* in 51.21a below; cf. 1st para. above.

51.6. *yā vahyō vaŋhūš dazdē yascā hōi vārāi rādať* / *ahurō xšaθrā mazdā* The one who accepts what is better than good and shall bring

success to His wish, (that one) the Lord, Wise in His rule, (shall accept)'. Belongs with 33.10ab *\*vispās \*tōi hujitayō ... θwahmī hiš zaasē āhaxšā.hvā* 'All those whose way of life is good for Thee ... give them a share in Thy approval'. *vahyō vāyhāuš* very well may be a paraphrase for *ašām vahištām*, thus anticipating 51.10c below *maihyō zhayā ašām vāyhuyā aši gaṭ.tē* 'I summon the truth to me, to come with my good reward'.

*ahurō xšaθrā mazdā* is short for *\*ahurō tām xšaθrā mazdā dāitē*, with usual suppression of demon. pron. and freq. omission of parallel verb form. Cf. e.g. 43.14ab *hyaṭ nā fryāi ... dāidī. maihyō (dāidi) ... tavā rafānō*; 48.4a *yā dāṭ manō vahyō ... ašyascā (dāṭ)*; etc. Furthermore, 47.1d *mazdā xšaθrā*, 45.7c *iācā xšaθrā mazdā dūmīš ahurā*, 45.9c *mazdā xšaθrā ... ahurō*, all of which show that *xšaθrā mazdā* here in 51.6 cannot be separated syntactically.

*aṭ alhmāi akāṭ ašyō yā hōi nōiṭ vīdāiti* 'But worse than bad shall he for the one who shall not serve Him'. Antithesis to preceding *yaθā ašāṭ hacā gqm \*vīdāṭ vāstryō*. *akāṭ ašyō* is probably paraphrase for *acištahyā dāmānām manūghō*.

The differing final fates of the truthful and deceitful described here have closest parallel in 47.5bc *ašāmē cōiš yā zi cicā vahištā, hanarā θwahmāṭ zaosāṭ dragvā \*haxšaitē* 'Thou hast promised to the truthful man what are the very best things, (hut) the deceitful one shall have his fate apart from Thy approval'.

51.7. *yā gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā ... spāništā mainyū mazdā* 'Wise One. Thou who didst fashion the cow as well as the waters and the plants by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit'. For disc. of *spāništā mainyū*, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc. The use of *gqm apascā urvarāscā* has to be understood on two levels. (1) The elements of the physical creation, whereby *gqm* = *zqm* 'earth'; cf. 32.10. Thus similar to the juxtaposition of *zqm ... apā urvarāscā* in 44.4hc. (2) The metaphoric level in which *gqm* = *vāyuhm daēnqm* 'the good vision', as frequently, and *apascā urvarāscā* are intended to refer to the pious and the faithful followers of the good vision. In this second sense, use of *spāništā mainyū* is just as appropriate, for it is through the awakening of the virtuous spirit in man that the enactment of the rule of good thinking and truth has become possible on earth. Y. 43 is essentially the recounting of this awakening in Zarathustra himself. Cf. also 48.6ac *hā (= gāuš) zi nā hušōiθamā ... aṭ ahīyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaxšāṭ* 'For she shall bring peace to us. And the Wise One, together with truth,

shall increase the plants for her', with identical metaphoric use of *gāuš* and *urvarā*. Cf. Addenda.

*dāidi mōi ... aməratātā haurvatā ... taviši utayūiti manajhā vohū sənijhē* 'Grant to me immortality and completeness, those two enduring forces to be praised with good thinking'. Zarathustra's personal need for immortality and completeness — the development of a faithful following of his own — cf. 44.18. I follow Lommel (1935a, 157) in taking *sənijhē* as fem. du., thus equiv. to Ved. *śamsye*. The phrase *manajhā vohū sənijhē* can thus be compared to 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā* 'words praiseworthy with truth'.

51.8. *hyaṭ akōyā* (= *\*akōiyā*) *dragvāitē uštā yā ašəm dādrē* 'that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accordance with the wish (of Him) who has upheld the truth'. Belongs with 33.2 *aṭ yā akəm dragvāitē ... varəšaiti ... tōi vārāi rādanti* 'Who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one, (t)he(y) shall bring success to His wish' and the *maθra* 47.4d *isvāciṭ haṣ paraoš akō dragvāitē* 'Even the master of much worth shall be evil to the deceitful one'. *dragvāitē*, contrasting with *yā ašəm dādrē* = AhM., clearly refers to *angrō mainyuš*, as in all the other cited parallels. For this usage, cf. 31.15.

*akōyā* (= *\*akōiyā*) is 1sg. opt. of a denom. *\*akati* 'does evil, acts with evil' (cf. SI. 1965, 20). On orthography, cf. *isōyā* for *\*isōiyā* 43.8.

*yā ašəm dādrē* is a variation on 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dūmīš ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahištəm manō* 'He created truth in accord with this intention, by which He has (also) upheld the very best thinking'. The intent of the last passage is that AhM. both created and upholds truth and good thinking.

51.9. *ahvāhū daxštəm* 'a sign among living beings'. *ahvā-* 'living being' corresponds to *alm-* 'existence, world', as does *gaēθā-* 'creature' to *gaya-* 'life'.

*rāšayejhē dragvantəm savayō ašavanəm* 'to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful' corresponds to 49.3b *ašəm sūidyāi ... rāšayejhē druxš* 'the truth is to be saved and deceit is to be destroyed'.

51.10. *aṭ yā nā nā* ( $K_4$ ) *marəxšaitē anyāθā \*ahmaṭ* (Mss. *almāṭ*) 'Yes, the person indeed who shall try to destroy us is other than (one of) us'. The reading *mānā* (i.e. *nā nā*) of  $K_4$  is lectio difficilior and should be adopted; the var. *-nā* stems from the influence of 32.10a *hvō mā nā sravā mōrandaṭ*. On encl. pron. after particles, cf. 46.8a, 10a *yā vā mōi*,

etc. The plural *nā* is in fact preferable in view of the use of *gaēθā* in the parallel 31.1b *yōi ... ašahyā gaēθā vimarancaitē* 'who destroy the creatures of truth'. Zarathustra is not only referring to himself here in 51.10 but also to all of the other truthful followers. Consequently, *\*ahmaṭ* should be emended in place of attested *ahmāṭ* which simply shows the effects of generalization after *ahmāṭ* 33.6, 45.11, 47.4. Note particularly the similarity between *anyāθā ahmāṭ* and 45.11c *anyāng ahmāṭ*. Cf. also introd. p. 11f.

*hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš* 'He is a son stemming from deceit's creator'. Belongs with 32.3ab *yūš ... akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram. yascā vā maš yazaitē* 'Ye are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking, also the one who worships you muchly'. Both are antithesis to 33.6a *yā zaotā ašā arəzuš hvō mainyēuš ā vališiūṭ kayā*.

*iā diždā yōi hantī* 'and thereby malevolent to those who exist' contrasts with 45.6bc *yā hudā yōi hantī spəntā mainyū* 'who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of His virtuous spirit'. The reason such a person is malevolent is because he is obliged to follow the commandments of deceit which urge the destruction of the creatures of truth. Cf. above-cited parallel 31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō ašahyā gaēθā vimarancaitē*.

51.11. *kā spəntā ārmaitiṣ* 'With whom is virtuous piety allied?'. Cf. 32.2.

*kā vā vayhəuš manayhō acistā magāi arəšvō* 'Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the task?'. The gen. *vayhəuš manayhō* belongs with *kā*, as in 51.21a below *ārmatōiš nā* 'the man of piety'. Cf. also 47.4c *kasənušciṭ nā* and 49.5c *ārmatōiš kasciṭ* 'any person of piety'.

The usage *acistā magāi arəšvō* 'has shown himself to lofty for the task' should be compared with the Ved. type represented by RV. X 74.6cd *āceti prāsahas pātis tīviṣmān, yād im uśmāsi kārtaṇe kārāt iāt* 'The overpowering one (Indra) has shown himself to be a mighty lord: whatever we wish him to do, that he does'. *acistā* (for orig. *\*ācistā*) is exactly medio-passive like *āceti*; for other exx., cf. 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā. magāi arəšvā* belongs with 29.11b *frāxsuənō mazōi magāi.ā* 'fit for the great task'; cf. latter passage for general disc. For further disc., cf. 51.16 below.

51.12. *pərətā zəmō* 'at Earth-Bridge'. I take this as a place name. *pərətā* (Jp<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, etc.) is the correct reading; cf. *pərətā* in next



vs. and *xratā* 48.4. Var. *pəratā* shows preservation of vocalism of surrounding *kəvinā* ... *zəmā*. On principle, cf. introd. p. 5.

*hyaṭ alimī urūraast aštō* is an abbrev. for *\*hyaṭ tām alimī urūraast yā aštā* 'when he rejected (rebuffed) him who had arrived at that place'. For parallels, cf. 31.9 *vāstryāṭ vā āitē* etc.

*hyaṭ hāi \*ī* (Mss. *īm*) *caratascā aadərəscā zāišənū vāzā* 'although his two draft animals were trembling from wandering and from the cold'. I emend *īm* to *\*ī*, agreeing with *zāišənū vāzā*. Reading *īm* stems from effects of *īm* in line a; cf. introd. p. 9.

51.13. *tā drəgvatō marədatī daēnā əṛəzaos \*haiṭyqm* (Mss. *haiṭīm*) 'By reason of this, the conception of the deceitful person misses the true one of the honest man'. There must be a basic opposition in this line between *drəgvatā daēnā* and *əṛəzaos haiṭīm*. Consequently, I emend *haiṭīm* to *\*haiṭyqm* (sc. *daēuqm*), which has been eliminated in favor of freq. *haiṭīm* elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. For process, cf. introd. p. 14f.

*x'āiš šyaoθanāiš hižvascā ašahyā nqsvā paθō* 'having disappeared from the path of truth by reason of his actions and (the words) of his tongue'. Contrasts with 33.5 *yastē ... sərəašəm zbayā ... \*apā \*nā (\*nō) ... ašāṭ ā əṛəzūš paθō* 'I who shall summon obedience for Thee, I shall attain for us those paths straight in accord with truth'. Zarathustra is here stressing the point that by one's individual actions and beliefs, he either reaches or misses the path of truth. The proper actions, of course, are founded upon obedience and piety, as told in 44.6c *ašəm šyaoθanāiš dəbqzaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'.

Notice the juxtaposition of *daēnā* and *šyaoθanā* in 51.13 here also appears in the thematically related 31.20c *tām vā ahūm drəgvantō šyaoθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaṭ* 'To such a (terrible) existence shall your conception, together with its (corresponding) actions, lead you, ye deceitful ones'.

51.14. *uōiṭ urvaθā dātōihyascā karapanō vāstrāṭ arəm* (Jp<sub>1</sub>, J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5.1</sub>, etc.) 'The Karpans are not our allies, being at a distance from our laws and from the pasture'. *dātōihyascā ... vāstrāṭ* is a pseudo-dual (cf. 32.12 last para.), and the abl. is governed by *arəm* 'at a distance from'. This last form is related to Ved. *ārē* 'at a distance from' and is therefore originally *\*ārəm*. Note that Ved. has both acc. *dūrām* and loc. *dūrē* 'at a distance, far from', and thus acc. *\*ārām*, besides loc. *ārē*, is

fully expected. Orig. \**ārām* has been eliminated by redaction in favor of more common *arām* according to the freq. process.

The pasture here is that of truth and good thinking, mentioned in 33.3bc *vidqs vā θwaxšayhā gavōi. aṭ hvō ašahyā ayhaṭ vayhāušcā vāstrē manayhō* 'Who continues to serve the cow with zeal, he shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Therefore the expression *clātōihyascā ... vāstrāṭ* \**ārām* 'at a distance from the laws and the pasture' is merely a paraphrase of *ašahyā nqsvā paθō* 'having disappeared from the path of truth' in preceding vs. 51.13c. Note also that *vāstrāṭ* correctly anticipates use of *gavōi* in flg. line here. Idea of line corresponds to 44.20ce ... *gum karapā usixšcā aēšamāi dātā* (= \**datā*), *nōiṭ hūm* \**i-ān ašā vāstrām frādaijhe* 'The Karpan and Usig have delivered the cow unto fury. They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage with truth'. Simply, the traditional priests are the enemies of the good vision and its proponents.

*gavōi ārōiš ā sōndā* '(Theirs) is a pleasure from (bringing) injury to the cow'. Belongs in the context of 44.20b cited in last para.

*ā sōndā* is preferable reading since *ā*, following *ārōiš*, conforms to standard employment of *ā* after ablatives in the Gāthās. Cf. 31.21b *hūrōiš ā ... x'āpaithyāt*, 33.6a *maiuyōuš ā vahistāt*, etc. Resulting *sōndā*- and yAv. -*sandah*- belong with *sand* 'appear, please' (= Ved. *chaud*). Note that *vahrnō.sandah*- Yt. 10.25 is merely the equiv. of Ved. *gīr-vaṇas*- 'having pleasure in songs'.

51.15. *hyaṭ mīzdām ... / tā vā volhū manayhā ašāicā savāiš cāvīši*. The form *tā* is surely a mistake for *taṭ*, which resumes preceding *hyaṭ mīzdām*. Attested reading *tā vā* shows effects of generalization after 51.2a above *tā vā mazdā* ... Similarly, *ašāicā* is false for *ašācā* (so attested in inferior K<sub>11</sub>, M<sub>11</sub>), and conforms to the tendency of the Mss. to constantly write the form *ašācā* as *ašāicā*. Cf. vars. to 30.7a, 30.9b, 33.10c. Orig. source for mistake seems to stem from 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volhū ašācā*, where var. *ašāicā* shows effects of preceding *ahmāicā*. Cf. introd. pp. 9, 12f.

Thus the emended line should be \**taṭ vā volhū manayhā ašācā savāiš cāvīši* 'This (prize) has been promised to you during the times of salvation by reason of your good thinking and truth'. Support for emendation and interpretation seen from 34.13bc *ašāciṭ urvāxšaṭ hyaṭ cāvīštā hūdābyō mīzdām* 'One shall proceed in alliance with truth to the prize which has promised to the beneficent'. In 51.15 here Zarathustra intends to contrast the proper behavior of the faithful,

founded upon truth and good thinking (the principles of the good vision), with the evil behavior of the deceitful described in preceding vss. 13 and 14. Also, the repeated theme that the ways of deceit will lead one to hell, but the ways of truth and good thinking will lead to heaven.

In terms of syntax, the use of the instr. *voḥū manajhā aśācā* 'by reason of your good thinking and truth' is intended to imitate instr. employment in preceding vs. 13e *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš hizvascā aśahyā uqsvā paθō* 'having disappeared from the path of truth by reason of their own actions (and words) of their tongue'. The instr. *savāiš* is thus instr. of temporal duration; other exx. are listed at 30.7 *ayajhā ādānāiš*. The time of salvation belongs to the future, as stated in 48.1. Related also: 45.10cd *hyaṭ hōi aśā voḥucā cōišṭ manajhā, xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā* 'Whatever one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule'. Both passages belong together in the sense that the enactment of truth and good thinking by men in this world give strength to god, whereby he can offer them salvation in the next world.

51.16. *xšaθrā ... vajhāuš padabīs manajhō* 'through his rulership (following) along the paths of good thinking'. These words belong together syntactically, since they are a paraphrase of usual 46.10c *voḥū xšaθrām manajhā*, etc. Note also above 51.2bc *xšaθrām xsmākām voḥū manajhā*, where *xšaθrām* also appears in the preceding line.

*tqm ... magahyā ... yqm cistīm aśā mantā* 'this understanding of (our) task, which he respected in harmony with truth'. This phrase and the preceding *vajhāuš padabīs manajhō* thus correspond to above 51.11c *kō vā vajhāuš manajhō acistā magāi ərəšvō* 'Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the (great) task?'. Namely, by his rule founded upon good thinking (cf. 48.5ab *huxšaθrā xšāntā ... vajhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*), Kavi V. has indeed proved himself worthy. Note that the fig. *aśā mantā* is a variant of 31.19a *yō mantā aśam* 'who respected the truth', where *mantā* etc. is discussed.

*spəntō mazdā ahurō : aθā nō sazdyāi uštā* 'The Wise Lord is virtuous. Therefore wish ye for Him to announce Himself to us'. These words can only be a citation of Kavi V.'s own words, which are quoted by Zarathustra to show that his protector truly understands the proper principles. Cf. comparable words of Jāmāspa in 51.18 below. On *sazdyāi*, cf. 30.2 *ahmāi nō sazdyāi* etc.

51.17. *bərəxδqm ... fərašaoštrō ... daēdōišṭ kəlrpəm daēnayāi vaj-*

*huyāi* 'F. has displayed the esteemed form (of piety) for the sake of the good vision'. *bəraṣḍəm kəhrpām* requires *āmatōiš*. Cf. 44.7b *kā bəraṣḍəm tāšt ... ārmaitīm* and 30.7b *aṭ kəhrpām ... dadāṭ ārmaitiš*.

*yqm hōi išyqm dātū*. *yqm* is not possible as object of impv. *dātū*. I therefore emend to *\*yāṭ* (= Ved. *yātī*) *hōi išyqm dātū* 'In consequence of which, let (the Lord) grant power to him'. Passage thus corresponds to 28.7b *dāidi tū ... vištāspāi išəm maihyācā* 'Grant power to V. and to me'. *\*yāṭ* has been replaced by *yqm* under the influence of *yqm* occurring in the identical metrical position in the preceding vs. and also by the force of neighboring *išyqm*. For processes, cf. introduction, p. 8ff. On the use of the abl., cf. 33.6b *ahmāṭ avā manayhā yā ...* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that sort of thinking by which ...', etc. Note also that *yāṭ* appears in 32.4a *yāṭ yūšīā \*framimāθā* 'Insofar as ye authorize those things ...'.

51.18. *tqm cistrīm ... ištōiš* 'this understanding of His power'. *ištōiš* clearly refers to the power of AhM. The preceding vs. touches upon the theme of piety, so necessary to grant strength to AhM. and his powers, and the current one raises the complementary theme of good thinking and truth, which also increase the power of the lord. For disc., cf. 47.1-2. The word *ištōiš* thus stands here in its normal juxtaposition with flg. *xšaθrəm*; cf. 28.7 (beginning).

*aśā vərənīē taṭ xšaθrəm manayhō vaylhōuš vīdō* 'One chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth to serve (Him)'. This and the following line represent a direct quotation of Jāmāspa's words; cf. vs. 16 above. On *aśā ... taṭ xšaθrəm manayhō vaylhōuš*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc. On *vīdō*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

As above 51.17b ... *hōi išyqm dātū* corresponds to 28.7b *dāidi ... vištāspāi išəm maihyācā*. 51.18c here *taṭ mōi dāidi ahurā hyaṭ mazdā rapān tavā* corresponds to 28.6ab *dāidi ... zaraθuštrāi aojōnghvaṭ rafānō*. I take *rapān* as nom.-acc. sg. of pres. part. of *rap*; cf. *yasō.hiyān* 51.4 above, *spāncā aspāncā* 45.9.

*hvō taṭ nā ... ahmāi dazdē daēnayā vaēdammō* 'Acquiring it by his (good) conception that man assumes for himself this rule ...'. Complementary idea to 46.15c *tāiš yūš šyaoθanāiš aśəm xšmaihyā daduyē* 'Through such actions ye shall assume (acquire) the truth for yourselves'. Thus common theme: truth is realized by proper thoughts and actions. Note that in vs.16 it was said that Kavi V. reached the proper understanding through good thinking.

*yā ahūm išasqs aibi* 'who continues to seek for existence (to be in

accord with that) ...'. Phrase requires usual addition of *stāi* and *tā*. On *išasqs* for orig. \**išqs*, cf. 30.1 *išəntō*.

*mazdā dātā mraaṭ gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō* 'what the Wise Creator said is better for life through its actions'. Phrase *gayehyā vahyō* is obj. gen. of special sort; cf. 44.10 *yā hātqm vahištā*. The word *vahyā* is probably employed here as a paraphrase of *volū xšaθrəm*, and this is the equiv. of *ašəm volū manayhā* appearing in flg. 51.20b.

51.20. *taṭ vō nā hazaošāṇhō vīspāṇhō daidyāi savā / ašəm volū manayhā* 'All ye (immortals) of the same temperament, let your salvation be granted to us: truth allied with good thinking!'. *daidyāi* is jussive inf. as in parallel 34.3c \**arōi* (Mss. *ārāi*) *zi hudāṇhō vīspāiš mazdā xšmāvasū savō* 'Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent, Wise One, by all those of your kind!'. This passage also shows that *huzaošāṇhā vīspāṇhō* is best taken as a voc. here. That the salvation entreated for currently is the temporal and worldly salvation, namely, the freedom from deceit and its forces spoken of in vss. 4, 10 and 14, *ašəm volū manayhā* must therefore stand in apposition to *savō*. Zarathustra is thus entreating for the rule of truth and good thinking on earth here and now (cf. above 51.1c *taṭ nā nūciṭ varəšānē*), not the future salvation of heaven promised to the faithful in vs. 15 above.

*uxdā yāiš ārmaitiš* requires *frāharāmahū* or the like. On syntax of *uxdā yāiš ārmaitiš*, cf. 32.2 (end).

51.21. Switch to impersonal discourse in these last 2 verses indicates that they are *nuθras*. Cf. 47.1, 31.20.

*ārmatōiš nā spəutō hvō cisti uxdāiš šyaoθanā daēnā* 'Virtuous is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception'. On the flg. *ārmatōiš nā spəutā*, cf. 51.11 above. Because of 48.4bc *hvō daēnqm šyaoθanāiš vacayhācā ... hacaitē*, it is not possible to separate *daēnā* from the preceding members of the series here. Also, the following words *ašəm spənuṭ* are clearly intended to be parallel to opening *ārmatōiš nā spəutō*, both thus nominal sentences. Cf. also 53.1ab *vahištā īštiš srāvi zaraθuštrahē / spītāmahyā yezi ...*, in which opening phrase extends into second line, etc.

51.22. *yōi āṇharacā hantacā* 'who have existed and still exist' is simply a paraphrase for 'those who are immortal'. On *pairicā jasāi vantā* 'and I shall serve them with love', cf. 28.2 *yō vā ... pairījasāi* etc. and 28.8 *yāsā vāmuš*.

## Yasna 53

Most probably a wedding sermon, this Gāthā offers words of advice to those in the following of Zarathustra who wish to serve the Wise Lord and his values and principles. Not only must a truthful person understand and teach the importance of the Wise One's conception of a world ruled by truth and good thinking (1), but he must relentlessly strive in his dedication to the important task to achieve this good way of existence (7). This he must accomplish by prayer and piety for the Lord, and equally by the realization of words and actions which befit this view of a better mode of existence (2). He must remain steadfast in his determination and steadfast in his faith (3, 7), and serve both his lord and his associates with virtue, piety, truth and good thinking (3-5). Only by such fitting behavior can each person reach his own basis of truth, good thinking and wisdom (3-4) which, when added to that of his wife or fellow man, shall benefit the total advancement of the public good (5). If, on the other hand, one follows the ways of deceit, he damns not only himself with regard to the future life, but he also damns the whole of existence (6).

53.1. *yezi hōi* (= *zaraθuštrāi*) *dāi āyaptā ašāi hacā ahurō* 'if the Lord shall grant to him those attainments in accord with truth'. Belongs with 28.2bc *maihyō dāvōi ... āyaptā ašāi hacā*.

*yaēcā hōi dabau saškancā daēnayā vañhuyā uxδā šyaoθanācā* 'and (to those) who have accepted(?) and taught those words and actions stemming from His good conception'. *dabau* (metrically *\*dban*) is completely enigmatic. The form *saškān*, however, redup. aor. to *sac*, corresponds in sense to the caus. stem *sācaya-* 'teach' attested in Y. 55.6 *yā dātā aṇhāuš paouruvehyā ... \*sixšamua sācayamna dadrāna* 'the laws of the foremost existence, which are to be learned and taught and upheld', clearly a related passage. Cf. also Vyt. 52, etc. Note also the avowal in 31.1 *ac tā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacā sānghāmahi ... aēihyō vahištā yōi zrazdā aṇhau mazdāi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach the words which are the best for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One'. On the syntax of *daēnayā vañhuyā šyaoθanācā*, cf. 34.10.

53.2. *aṭcā hōi scautū manayhō uxδāiš šyaοθanāišcā xšnēm ... fraoraṭ* 'Moreover, let them continually accompany their knowledge with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking'. Belongs with 48.12bc *yōi xšnēm volū manayhā hacāntē šyaοθonāiš ašō θwahyā mazdā sānghohyō*, where both passages are fully discussed. Latter passage shows that *manayhā* also requires *volū* here, and that *xšnēm* (for *\*xšnuqm*) pointedly refers back to *saškən* in the preceding vs. Again the theme of knowledge without action is of useless value. Cf. Hitop. I, 16 (ed. Schl.) *durbhagābharaṇapṛāyo jūānaṇi bhāraṇi kriyāṇi vinā* 'Knowledge without action is a burden, like a mass of ornaments on an ugly woman'. On *fraoraṭ*, cf. 30.5.

*\*dāyhē* (Mss. *dāyhō*) *arəzūš paθō yqm daēnuqm ohurō saošyantō dadāṭ* 'in order to serve the straight paths (of truth) (with that) conception which the Lord granted to His savior'. I emend *dāyhō* to *\*dāyhē* since dat. inf. is expected. Orig. form changed under the influence of surrounding *vištōspō*, *spitāmō*, *paθō*, *ahurō*, *saošyantō*; for principle, cf. introd. p. 5f. The phrase beginning *yqm daēnuqm* etc. is asyndetically connected with *arəzūš paθō*, since it is unlikely to separate 53.2d here from 51.5ab *yaθā ašāṭ hacā gqm \*vidāṭ vāstryō* 'how the pastor shall serve the cow in accord with truth'. Since *gqm* = *vayuhim daēnuqm*, 51.5ab is the equiv. of saying *\*yaθā ašāṭ hacā daēnuqm vidāṭ*, as in the present line, where *arəzūš paθō* requires the addition of *ašahyā*, the constant complement of this figure. On the meaning of *\*dāyhē*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc. In general, cf. 33.4-6, which belong in the context of this verse.

53.3. *tāmcā.tū pourucistā*. In light of the remarks at 28.7 *dāstū mazdā xšayācā*, this sequence cannot be segmented into *tāu cā tū ...*, since *tū* must occur in second position of the line, even taking preference over enclitic forms of pronouns. Cf. e.g. 43.10a *aṭ tū mōi dāiš*, YH. 41.3 *oθā tū.nē gayascā*, etc. Because *tū* normally appears in association with an impv. form and a voc., e.g. 28.7bc *dāidi tū ārmaitē ... dāstū mazdā*, 49.7b *gūšahvā tū ahurā*, etc.. I therefore believe that *tāmcō.tū pourucistā* is of exactly the same structure. Thus *tāmcā* is most likely 2sg. impv., and I therefore relate the word to *taxma-* 'brave', *tancišta-* 'bravest', etc. We thus have orig. *\*tāncā*, which must mean 'be brave, persevere'. Change of *\*tāncā* to *tāmcā* follows tendency to replace rare words by common elements. Cf. e.g. *hātūtū* 33.7 with var. *hām tū* and introd. p. 13f.

*vayhāuš paityāstim manayhō* 'firm foundation of good thinking'.

The word *paityāsi-* is to be analyzed as *paiti-ā-st-i-* and is very close to *paiti.štā-* 'id.' (= Ved. *pratiṣṭhā-*); cf. 43.3 *ā-st-i-* for disc. Note also YH. 35.9 ... *aēšqm paityāstārəmcā frada.xstārəmcā* 'both founder (supporter) and revealer of these (words)', where *paityāstārəm* is syncopated from *\*paityāstātārəm*. Cf. common type *amaratāt-* from *amaratatāt-* etc.

*ašahyā mazdāscā taihyō dāi sarəm* 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and wisdom'. *ašahyā* cannot belong to preceding *vayhāus manayhō* because of the position of *cā* after *mazdās-*; cf. 31.21. Thus both *ašahyā* and *mazdāscā* depend upon *sarəm*, and the passage belongs therefore with 49.8ab *fərəšaoštrāi urvāzistqm ašahyā dā sarəm* 'To F. grant that most happy alliance of truth'. Notice also the coupling of *ašəm* and *mazdā* in 50.5a *\*arōi zī xšnā mazdā ašā ahurā* 'Lord, indeed let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth', where *mazdā* is likewise employed appellatively.

*spāništā ārmatōis hudāvarəšvā* (= *\*hudānū varəšvā*) 'Bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety' requires *šyaoθanā*. Cf. 47.2c *ārmatōis ... šyaoθanā varəzyāi* 'One shall bring to realization (the best) through his (every) act of piety'. Thus a stylistic variant of the fig. *spāntā ārmaitis* appearing 32.2c *spāntqm vā ārmaitīm varəmaidī*, etc. Note also that *spāništā ... varəšvā* functions as antithesis to 30.5a ... *varatū yā drəgvā acišā varəzyō* 'the deceitful one chose to bring to realization the very worst things'.

53.4. *tām zī vā sparadā nivarāni*. The pron. *vā* here cannot stand for *tōi*, as Humbach proposes (1959, II 95), for the syntax of *tām ... vā* here belongs to the type 45.3c *yōi im vā nōi ... varəšəntī* 'those among you who shall not ...' and especially 46.13e *tām vā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim* 'We respected him among you as the good companion of truth'. Furthermore, the use of flg. *yā ... vidāi* and *ašāunī* strongly suggests the emendation of *tām* to *\*tqm*, thus correctly anticipating the later fem. forms. Change to *tām* occurred from influence of false *tām* in opening of preceding vs. and also from influence of above-mentioned parallel 46.13e *tām vā*. For process, cf. introd. p. 9.

The difficult *nivarāni* must somehow anticipate the employment of flg. *paiθyaēcā* 'husband' and *varəzamnābyō* 'women being married' as well as *\*vadāmnā* in the next vs., for there is every reason to believe that this Gāthā was composed as a marriage sermon. Consequently, I connect *nivarāni* with Gk. *aeirō* 'join, couple' and interpret its meaning as 'I shall join (in marriage)'; on semantics, cf. Lat. *coniugium*



'marriage'. The remaining *spərədā* may thus be loc. of a stem *spərədi-* 'marriage', the condition being originally viewed as one of 'opposedness', much as Ved. *mithunā-* 'couple', orig. 'opposition' (cf. SI. 1973, 163 ff.). Thus the phrase is *\*tqm vō zi spərədā nivarāni* 'I shall join her among you in marriage ...'.

*yā fədrōi vidāi paiθyaēcā* etc. 'who shall serve father and husband ...'. Cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

53.5. *\*sāx'ēni \*i* (Mss. *sāx'ēni*) *vaz-yammābyō kainibyō mraomī* 'I tell these words to (these) girls who are being married'. For disc. of *sāx'ēni*, cf. 46.17 *yaθrā vō afšunāni*. Note also use of *iθā i* in vs. 6a below.

*xšmaibyācā \*vadānuā* (Mss. *vadāmnō*) 'and to you, ye bridegrooms'. Reading *vadānuō* cannot be correct, since a voc. is needed in conjunction with the flg. impv. forms *dazdūm* and *vaēdō.dūm*. Emendation to orig. *\*vadānuā* is necessary, a form altered in the course of time under the influence of preceding *vaz-yammābyō kainibyō*. On process, cf. introd. p. 6.

*vaēdō.dūm ... abyascā* (orig. *\*ābyascā*) *ahūm yā vayhāus manayhō* 'Acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking'. For parallels, cf. 28.5 *manascā vohū vaēdānuō* etc.

53.6. *āyesē hōiš piθā tanvō parā* should be emended to *āyesē \*hōi* (= *drījō*) *\*spiθā tanvō parā* 'I am taking these prosperous conditions away from his person'. The phrase thus belongs with 30.10a *adā zi avā drījō bvaitī skandō spayaθrahyā* 'For then shall descend the destruction of deceit's prosperity'. For disc., cf. latter passage.

*vayū.bərəduhyō duš.x'arəθāin* 'foul food shall be for them crying woe'. I follow interpretation of Bthlm. (1904, 1359), who aptly compared 31.20b *duš.x'arəθāin avaētās vacō* 'foul food and the word woe', where the fate of the deceitful is described in both the same ways. Note also flg. 53.7d *uī vō vayōi ayhaitī apāmām vacō* 'then the word woe shall be for you at the end'. The idiom *vācim bar* 'raise one's voice' appears in 31.12, 50.6.

53.7. *aīcā vō miždām ayhaī ahyā magahyā* 'On the other hand, there shall be a prize for you for the following task' and *ivīzayaθā magām tām* 'if ye abandon this task' are discussed at 29.11 *maga-*.

*būnōi haxtayā* (for *\*haxtiyā*; cf. var. *haxtyā*) is loc. abs. 'while your legs are on the ground' = 'while ye are still alive'. Other exx. of construction appear at 31.19 *vayhān vīdātā rquayā*.

*yaθrā mainyuš dragvatō anqsaṭ parā* 'where the spirit of the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall finally disappear'. The use of the preceding part. in *paracā mraocqṣ aorācā* 'sinking away and below' shows that flg. *anqsaṭ* cannot be a preterite. The form thus stands for orig. *\*ānqsaṭ*, which has been leveled after *nqsaṭ* in preceding vs. in identical metrical position. On process, cf. introd. p. 8. Orthography otherwise reveals common practice of writing initial *ā* as *a*.

53.8. *dafšnyā hñuū zahyācā višpāṇhō* 'Let them all be trickable and risible'. Translation follows RV. VIII 45.23ab *mā tvā mūrā aviṣyāvo, mōpahāsvāna ā dabhān* 'Though desiring help, let not the fools, let not the mocking ones deceive thee', where *has* (= Av. *zah*) and *dabh* occur side by side. Zarathustra focuses attention in opposite direction: the evil normally mock and deceive the truthful, but let them now be mocked and tricked themselves. Cf. also AV. VI 30.2h *yēnābhiliśyāṃ pīruṣaṇi kṛṇōṣi* 'with which thou makest a man risible'.

*huxšaθrāiš jñānəqm xrūnəqm cā rāmqm cā āiš dadātū šyeitiḃyō vižihyō* 'But in alliance with those who have good mastery over the men-killing, men-violating ones, let a person create tranquility for the peacefully dwelling tribes (settlements)'. Intended as contrast to above 53.6d *anāiš ā manahim ahūm mərəngəduyē* 'In alliance with them (= the deceitful ones) ye are going to destroy the spiritual life'.

*rāmqm cā dadātū* 'But let one create tranquility', with adversative *cā* (cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā ... jasaṭ*), begins the new sentence, but *huxšaθrāiš jñānəqm xrūnəqm cā* has been fronted so as not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For parallel exx., cf. 28.1 *vaṇhāuš xratūm manəḃhō* etc. Moreover, the gens. *jñānəqm* and *xrūnəqm* are governed by preceding *huxšaθrāiš* acc. to normal practice of *xšaθrəm* with gen. complement. Cf. 31.21ab *haurvatō aməratātascā ... aśahyācā ... xšaθra-*, etc. Finally, note that the flg. *rāmqm ... dadātū šyeitiḃyō* is a stylistic variant of 29.10b *yā hušaitiš rāmqm cā dāṭ*.

53.9. On *narəpiš rajiš* 'decline and darkness', I follow Humbach. Stylistically the phrase resumes the theme of above vs. 7c *paracā mraocqṣ aorācā*. In general, the description of the deceitful as decline and darkness is intended to contrast with the description of AhM. as *x'āng.darəs-* 'having the appearance of the sun' 43.16, and in terms of this hymn, with the phrase *manəḃhō vaṇhāuš x'ānvaṭ haṇhuš* 'the sunlike gain of good thinking' in above 53.4c.

## ADDENDA

28.1 *xratūm*. The function and rôle of *xratuš* in the Gāthās have been studied in detail by H.-P. Schmidt in his recent Inaugural Lecture, 'Zarathustra's Religion and his Pastoral Imagery' (6 Juni 1975, Universitaire Pers Leiden; cf. also Schmidt, 'Associative Technique and Symmetrical Structure in the Composition of Yasna 47' in *Neue Methodologie in der Iranistik*, Wiesbaden 1974, pp. 306-330). Schmidt, who shares many of my views concerning the metaphoric identification of the cow as the good vision (*vajuhī daēnā*), ascribes to *xratuš* the meaning 'reason, intellect' (p. 7) and sees it to be the male or stimulating counterpart to *daēnā* 'vision' (pp. 7, 11), namely, that intellectual quality which triggers one's insight (*daēnā*) or cognition (*cistiš*). His findings are based upon a close association of these two terms in the text, either in their unmasked forms (31.11 *daēnāscā* . . . . *xratūšcā*), or in the usual metaphoric substitution of cow for the latter concept (28.1 *xratūm* . . . *gāušcā urvqnam*; 31.9 *gāuš tašā* . . . *xratuš*; 34.14 *gāuš vərəzēnē* . . . *xratāuš*; etc.), which he then goes on to explain in his typical careful and thorough way. A further proof for the interdependency is recognized by Schmidt in the metaphoric use of *uxšānō* 'bulls' in 46.3, which is employed, in his opinion, in apposition to *saošyāntqm xratavō* in the same verse (p. 8), and which attests thus to its close connection with *daēnā*, since both terms are referred to by parallel metaphors. Both metaphors are further collapsed in the elliptic dual *gāvā azī* at 46.19, representing *daēnā* and *xratuš* (p. 9) in his view.

Apart from the metaphoric representation of *xratuš* by *uxšān-* or *gao-*, I wholly agree with S.'s disclosure of the interrelationship between *xratuš* and *daēnā*, but I still am convinced that the former term signifies 'will, determination, intention' far more than a truly intellectual capacity. It is true that Zarathustra, in his higher understanding, is preoccupied with intellectual qualities and that concepts such as *mazdā*, *vohū manō*, *daēnā* and (*hu*)*cistiš* therefore dominate his poetry, but it is equally true that the Gāthās also bear the undeniable mark of the prophet's unswerving determination and insistence in revealing and realizing his message founded upon this higher understanding. When he says at 28.4c *yavaŋ isāi tavācā avat xsāi aēšē ašahyā* 'as long as I shall be able and be strong, so long shall I search in quest of truth',

is this not a sign of his dedication and determination? And not similarly so 50.11ah *aī vā staotā aojāi mazdā aṇhācā yavaṭ aśā tavācā isāicā* 'Yes, I shall swear to be your praiser, Wise One, and I shall be it, as long as I shall have strength and be able, o truth'? Thus, when 28.1c states (*yāsā*) *vcajḥāuš xratūm manayhō yā xšnəvišā gəušcā urvqam* '(I entreat for that) through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow', does not this use of *xratuš* presage the declaration of Zarathustra's determination stated in flg. 28.4c?

It is true that *xratuš* and *daēnā* are in complementation in this first verse of the Gāthās, but the terms are in a different relationship from that explained by Schmidt. Zarathustra's conception has given him insight into the possibility of a perfect world, but he also requires the determination to bring this to realization, and this determination stems from his good thinking. Will and mind must work in concert, the very idea seen in 46.18e *taṭ mōi xratəuš manayhascā viciθam* 'This is the decision of my will and my mind', which represents an avowal of the type discussed in 28.4c and 50.11ah above. Likewise, does not 31.12b *zradācā manayhācā* express an equal cooperation between will and mind? Similarly instructive is 53.3d *aθā hān, fərəšvā θwā xraθwā spənišā ārmatōiš \*hūdānū \*varəšvā* 'Therefore, come to terms with thy will, and bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed acts of piety', since this line is preceded by the opening line a *\*tāncā tū pourucistā* 'Do thou persevere, Pourucistā', wherein Zarathustra's daughter is expressly admonished to continue in her determination.

A very important aspect of the argument overlooked by Schmidt is the employment of *xratuš* with respect to Ahura Mazda. When we find a statement such as 43.6de *aēihyō ratūš sānghaini ārmaitiš θwahiā xratəuš yām naēciš dāhayeiti* 'To them does piety announce the judgments of Thy will, which (or, Thou whom) no one is able to deceive', it appears to me that we are dealing with the question of the will of god, not with his ultimate reason. Let us recall that 29.4c *hvō viciṛō alurō aθā nā aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* 'He is the decisive Lord: So shall it be for us, as He shall wish it' makes the point clear that the prophet views Ahura Mazda as a totally free god who disposes as he wishes, and in view of this, AhM. has the right to command and act as his will moves him. Thus he can create truth according to his will because he wished to make the creatures happy (cf. 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dāmiš aśam*), or he can impose a differing fate

upon the truthful and deceitful person according to his will, seen in 48.4d *θwalmi xratā apāmam nanā aḡhaḡ* 'When Thy will be done, the end shall be different (for each)'. Ahura Mazdā may act with wisdom, but above all, as supreme god, he acts and commands with his inherent independence of will, as we see from 45.3. This explains why *xratuš* is found in juxtaposition with *sāstū* at 45.6, with *sāsti* at 48.3, and with *sāhūt* at 50.6, forms which attest to the authority of AhM.'s will. I would stress the concept of the command of god in these verses more than I have in the translation. Here, too, cf. 49.6ab and the remarks concerning *urvata-* at 30.11 (2nd part).

Likewise, when 33.2 relates that the persons who shall act against the deceitful and shall further the good, *tōi vārāi rādanti ahurahyā zaošē mazdā* 'these shall bring success to His desire and be in the approval of the Wise Lord', we again encounter a situation where the will of Ahura Mazdā is the decisive value at play (cf. the precept given at 47.4). And this belongs with 32.4 which tells that the mortals who serve the very worst ordinances of the old gods disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth (note *frā mā* replaces *sāh* in employment with *xratuš*). This is certainly not what is wished by them. On the other hand, 34.14 stresses the reverse, namely, that those who act with good thinking further the will of Ahura Mazdā with truth: for this behavior is based upon precepts of their god (cf. 47.1-2).

In view of the preceding discussion, I am led to defend my interpretation of 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sāughāiš saošyantqm xratavō* 'The intentions (determination) of the those who shall save are in accord with Thy mature teachings', because this statement is merely a reaffirmation that the community of the faithful is indeed determined to overthrow the deceitful if the heavenly forces shall assist in removing the restraints of the evil spirit and his powers. I also remain firm in seeing a contrast in 46.3 and 4 between *uxšānō asuqm* 'the bulls of the heavens' and *ašahyā važdrāug gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' to signify Ahura Mazdā and his forces on the one hand and the community of the truthful on the other. This juxtaposition is merely a metaphoric representation of the oft stressed cooperation required between god and his faithful, which is characteristic of the Gāthās. Another important point to stress is this fact: Although Zarathustra employs *gao-* as a metaphor for *vayuhī daēnā*, these two terms never appear in the same verse. This immediately speaks against the possibility of taking *uxšānō asuqm* and *saošyantqm xratavō* to be in apposition in 46.3, as Schmidt asserts.

In conclusion, one further remark. If *xratuš* plays the important

intellectual role which Schmidt ascribes to it, then it is difficult to explain why the concept, in some personified form or other, does not actively appear in Y. 29 along with Ahura Mazdā, *ašam*, *vohū manō*, *gāuš tašā* (= *spəntō mainyuš*) and *gāuš urvā* (= *daēnā*). The obvious answer is that *xratuš* is not purely intellectual in the sense of the other conceptual terms. Yet let us remember, as noted above, the strongest statement concerning AhM. in Y. 29 emanating from the cow and Zarathustra is that AhM. is decisive and that the future shall be as he shall will it to be. Here we see clearly that the will of god, as that of man, stands in a domain apart from his intellectual capacities, and that, to a large extent, the latter values are under the control of the former. Thus, it seems to me, when 28.1 here juxtaposes the will or determination of Zarathustra with the soul of the cow, when 29.5 speaks of *mā urvā gāušcā azyā*, etc., the elliptic dual *gāvā azī* in 46.19 again designates Zarathustra and the cow, as I have already interpreted this expression. The intention is that both the determination of the prophet and his view of the world can offer spiritual strength to a believer in this world, as he awaits the prize of salvation in his future life.

29.7. I believe *tām āzūtōiš ... mǝθrəm tašaŋ ... xšvīdameā* stands for underlying *\*tām āzūtōiš ... mǝθrəm tašaŋ ... xšvīdascā*, with attraction of the last word into the acc. Cf. the type 32.4c *mazdā ahurahyā xratuš nasyantō ašāaŋcā*, which appears to me to represent *\*... ašahyācā*, with similar attraction of the final term to the last inflected form of the figure.

29.11. The emendation of *aŋ mā mašā* to *aŋ \*mǝm \*ašā* is supported by the fact that the only place in the Gāthās where the full acc. *θwǝm* appears is in the preceding verse. The uniqueness of both pron. forms here in Y. 29 thus strengthens the argument.

30.3. *yā yāmā xʾafnā asrvātəm*. This passage has been recently studied by Humbach, 'Methodologische Variationen zur arischen Religionsgeschichte', in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert), Innsbruck 1974, pp. 193-200. Humbach finds a direct connection between this passage and Y. 32.8 *vivəŋhūšō srāvī yimasciŋ* etc., attested by the coupling of *yāmā*, *yimasciŋ* and the root *sru*, and he interprets both in light of the later Persian versions of the myths concerning Jam(šed). In the current passage, H. points to the tale

in the Pahlavi Rivāyat which relates that Yima slept with both a Parīg and his sister Jamag, and that from the former coupling lower forms of life were born, from the latter the favorable prototype of marriage between relations was established as a social norm. Thus the good and the bad issuing from these two sorts of unions, a motif arising from the core of underlying mythology, are played against the good and the bad represented by the two primordial spirits in 30.3, which brings H. to translate (p. 200) the passage as 'welche durch Yima als die beiden Arten von (Bei)Schlaf bekannt worden sind'. In Y. 32.8, H. finds reference to the fall of Yima recounted in Šāh-nameh 4.64, wherein it is told that he committed the crime of considering himself a god and demanding of men that they pay divine respect to him. Combining the form *gāuš* in 32.8 with Mid. Ir. root *gu* 'sin, be remiss', Humbach then translates the line *yā mašyāng cixšmšō alimākōng gāuš bagā x'ārəmmō* as 'der im Bestreben, die Menschen zufriedenzustellen (= ihnen gefällig zu sein), die Unseren, sich versündigte, indem er mit Gott rechtete' (p. 199).

First, it should be said that H. places too great an emphasis upon the appearance of *sru* in both passages. If 30.3 and 32.8 are in a special relationship because of *sru*, this can only derive from the fact that this root is the common Indoir. term to relate some mythological event or to tell some fact of widespread hearsay. The Rīg. usage makes this point clear. Cf. RV. IV 42.5c *tvāṇi vṛtrāṇi śṣuviṣe jaghnavān*; V 32.12ab *evā hi tvāṇi ṣṭuthā yātāyantam, maghā viprebhyo dādatanī śṣuomi*; X 48.8d *prāhām mahé vṛtrahātya aśuśravi*; etc. I therefore see Zarathustra's employment of *sru* in 30.3 here to conform exactly to this practice: He is pointing out the well known attributes of the good and the evil spirits, which belong to the common stock of folk knowledge. Secondly, the syntactic characteristic found in vs. 1a *aṭ tā vaxšyā ... yā mazdāθā*, in vs. 5a *aṭ mānivā ... yā drəgvā*, whereby the form immediately following the rel. is an appositive to the pronoun, makes it highly probable that vs. 3a *aṭ tā mānīyā ... yā yāmā* is of exactly the same structure. The form *yāmā* is best taken as a dual form. Thirdly, when the RV. refers to night and dawn, for example, as twins (*yamān*), it is not because there is any association of these two complementary aspects of time with Yama and Yamī, but because night and dawn form the two halves of the day, the time unit which pervades the continuum of existence. And similarly so, when Zarathustra calls the two spirits twins in the current passage, it is only because they represent the complementary aspects of good and evil

which also permeate all of the continuum of existence. There is no more nor less than these two in the polarity of things, and in this light, it seems best to me to remain with my explanation of *x'afəuā* \*ā to signify '(to be) in rivalry'.

As regards 32.8, H. himself (cf. commentary ad loc.) made it highly likely that *srāvi* was employed in a legal sense in the passage in view of the other legal employments of the neighboring terms. But even if we accept the 'mythological' use of *srāvi* in the passage, certain points in H.'s interpretation remain unclear. If Yima committed the crime of considering himself a god 'to please our men', why were not these men of ours condemned along with him? And was it not really to please himself? Finally, H. stretches the meaning of *x'ārənnō* 'swearing' to 'rechtete', an exaggeration of what appears to me to be a legitimate possibility. Also, if the passage really meant what H. has suggested, then should we not expect to find a simple statement of the type \*... *bagō (-ō) x'ārənnō* 'swearing himself to be a god' (Ved. type RV. 11 23.12ab ... *yō ... śāsām ugrō mānyamāno jighāṃsati*)?

Despite these criticisms of 32.8, Humbach as disclosed two important points. (1) That the passage has nothing to do with the later legend of Yima's fall by eating meat. (2) that *gāuš* may belong with *gu* 'sin'. With regard to the latter possibility, can we not consider *gāuš* a *šleša*, and in the first instance take *mašyāng almuākāng* as object to it, and in the second, take *gāuš bagā* as I have suggested? Thus, *yō mašyāng cixšnušō almuākāng gāuš bagā x'ārənnō* 'who, wishing to satisfy (himself?), sinned against our men (by) swearing that the cow was goddess'.

*manahicā vacahicā šyaoθamōi*. On the series thought, word and deed, cf. Schlerath, 'Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Avesta' in *Antiqu. Indogerm.*, pp. 201-221.

32.8. *vīvaṇhušō srāvi yimasci* etc. Cf. Add. to 30.3 above. —

32.10. *yō acištəm vaēnəjḥē uogədā gəm asiḥyā hvarəcā*. See now H.-P. Schmidt, op cit., 14f. and Gershevitch, 'Die Sonne das Beste' in *Mithraic Studies*, Manchester 1975, pp. 68-89.

34.13. *urvāxša*. When *urvāxša* is clearly 3sg. subj. in 44.8e *kā mā urvā volū urvāxša āgəma*.tā 'To what goods shall my self proceed in the future?', then the same value must be recognized in 34.13 here.



The context is likewise future, for the prize has not as yet been reached, and it is not possible to ascribe a future or present value to *urvāxsaṭ* even if it is interpreted as 3pl. aor. inj. Therefore, *daēnā saosyantam* cannot be the subject of the verb (so, Schmidt, op. cit., 11, reposing on Humbach), only *\*karatā*, as I propose.

47.3. Bthlm. 1879, 53, proposed *aēvā* in place of *ōyā*, showing that he understood the latter form. Why he abandoned this idea later is not clear at all.

48.4. *yā dāṭ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā ... apōmēm nauā aṇhaṭ*. Schmidt, op. cit., 4, translates 'He who makes his thinking (now) very good, o Wisdom, and (now) very bad ... he shall be set apart in the end', essentially following Bthlm. But the final phrase cannot be right since it is difficult to separate *nauā* from Ved. *nānā*, which clearly means 'separately, differently'. Cf. RV. III 55.11ab *nānā cakrāte yamyā vāpīṃṣi, tāyor anyād rocate kṣṇām anyāt* 'The twin sisters (= day and night) have adopted their forms differently: the one form of them is luminous, the other is black'; X 67.10d *nānā sānto bibhrato jyōtir āsā* 'Although being different, they bear light in their mouth'; etc. Thus I abide by my translation 'The end shall be different' and see the necessity of recognizing two subjects in the first line, with a suppressed second *yā*, to which the different end can refer. In support of this idea, notice 51.6 *yā vahyō vaṇhōuš dazdē ... aṭ alimāi akāṭ ašyō yā ... apōmē aṇhōuš urvāēsē*, a stylistic variant, where there are expressly two different subjects woven around the contrast of *vahyō* and *ašyō*.

48.5. *yaozdā mašyā \*aipi.zqθam* (or *aipi zqθam*) *vahištā gavōi varəzvātam*. Schmidt, op. cit., 2, translates 'Best perfection (or: purification) at (her) birth shall be applied by man to the cow'. Leaving aside the question of the meaning of *yaozdā* and the difficult *aipi(.)zqθam*, the interpretation of instr. *mašyā* does not appear to be correct for two reasons. (1) The precesura position of *mašyā* conforms to the placement of most such vocs. in the Gāthās: Cf. 32.3a *daēvā vispāyho*, 45.2a *vispā*, 51.20a *hazaošāyho*. (2) Agent instr. normally precedes the noun to which it belongs: Cf. 29.2bc *vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō ... drəgvō.dabīs aēšəməm*; 31.9c *θwā āθrā ... vidātā*; 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā*; etc. More important, however, is the feature that the change in address from AhM. to the adherents in lines cd here mirrors the reverse change in preceding vs. 3. Thus a voc. *mašyā* seems preferable to me.

48.12. On *saošyant-*, cf. also Schmidt, op. cit., 8 and Kellens, 'SAOŠ-IIAŃT-', *Studia Iranica* 3, pp. 187-209.

51.7. *apascā urvarāscā*. Schmidt, op. cit., 4, takes the waters and the plants to represent the good thoughts, words and deeds of man, since this expression is used next to *gām* in this verse. More generally, I prefer man, in the sense of the community of the truthful, since man's belief in the good vision is needed to continue its existence. Note that when 33.3c says that the man who shall serve the cow with zeal shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking, the idea is that such a person's dedication shall sustain truth and good thinking on earth. Just as the strength of god is dependent upon the faith and piety of the believers (cf. 28.3), so also the true believer is the food and nourishment (waters and plants) for god's good conception to prosper.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations of authors' names are found in the References, those of texts in the Index Locorum).

abl.	= ablative	Lat.	= Latin
abs.	= absolute	loc.	= locative
abstr.	= abstract	masc.	= masculine
acc.	= accusative:	med.	= medial
	according	metr.	= metric(ally)
act.	= active	MidIr.	= Middle Iranian
adj.	= adjective	MidPers.	= Middle Persian
adv.	= adverb	Ms.	= manuscript
AhM.	= Ahura Mazdā	neg.	= negative
Akkad.	= Akkadian	neut.	= neuter
aor.	= aorist	nom.	= nominative
assim.	= assimilation	nom. ag.	= nomen agentis
athem.	= athematic	obj.	= object(ive)
Av.	= Avestan	OP.	= Old Persian
caus.	= causative	opt.	= optative
compd.	= compound	orig.	= original
comit.	= comitative	para.	= paragraph
dat.	= dative	part.	= participle
denom.	= denominative	Parth.	= Parthian
deriv.	= derivative	pass.	= passive
desid.	= desiderative	perf.	= perfect
disc.	= discussion	pl.	= plural
dissim.	= dissimilation	pres.	= present
du.	= dual	pret.	= preterite
equiv.	= equivalent	pron.	= pronoun
ex(x).	= example(s)	redup.	= reduplicated
fem.	= feminine	rel.	= relative
fig.	= figure	Rigv.	= Rigvedic
flg.	= following	sec.	= secondary
freq.	= frequent(ly)	sg.	= singular
Gāth.	= Gāthic	sgm.	= sigmatic
gen.	= genitive	Sogd.	= Sogdian
Gk.	= Greek	subj.	= subjunctive
imperf.	= imperfect	surround.	= surrounding
impv.	= imperative	them.	= thematic
indic.	= indicative	trans.	= transitive
Indoir.	= IndoIranian	var.	= variant
inf.	= infinitive	Ved.	= Vedic
instr.	= instrumental	voc.	= vocative
intens.	= intensive	vs.	= verse
intrans.	= intransitive	yAv.	= young Avestan
introd.	= introduction	:	= denotes caesura
juss.	= jussive	/ or ,	= denotes end of metrical line

## COMPLETE GLOSSARY TO THE GĀTHĀS

Verbal forms, with the exception of past parts., are arranged under a separate root lemma, in the order pres.-imperf., aor., perf., fut., caus., desid., intens., pass., forms with preverbs in the similar sequence, parts. and inf. Active forms precede medial ones, and the ordering of moods follows the sequence indic., opt., impv., subj.

Nouns and adjectives are grouped together, whenever possible, under the first attested form of the sequence nom., acc., instr., etc., the usual presentation. Note that the nom.-acc. neut. follows similar masc. forms and that the fem. forms are listed at the end.

Pronouns are grouped under the nom. form of the paradigm.

As usual, \* denotes an emendation.

aēnaḡhō 31.13, 15.

aēnā 32.6.

aēnaḡham 32.7-8.

aēnaḡham (adj.) 30.8.

aēnaḡhē, cf. i.

aēvō 29.8.

aēvā (instr.) 29.6.

ōyā (f. instr.) 47.2.

aēurus 50.10.

aēšasā 53.9.

aēšē 28.4.

aēšō 44.17; 45.7.

aēšom 43.10.

aēšomō 29.1; 48.7.

aēšomam 29.2; 30.6; 49.4.

aēšomāi 44.20.

aēšom.mahyā 48.12.

a o g

aojī 43.8.

aojōi (3sg.) 32.7.

aoḡadā 32.10.

aojāi 50.11.

pairyaoyžā 43.12.

aogō 29.10.

aojaḡhā 50.3.

aojōḡhvantam 34.4.

aojōḡghvaṡ 28.6; 31.4; 43.8.16.

aojā 34.8; cf. \*aš.aojā.

aojīstō 29.3.

aojyaēšū 46.12.

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<sup>2</sup>a r  
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<sup>3</sup>a r  
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     12<sup>3</sup>,13; 44.1-19,9-10,16-18; 45.3,5<sup>2</sup>;  
     46.7-8,10,18,19<sup>2</sup>; 48.2,9; 49.1<sup>2</sup>; 50.1<sup>2</sup>;  
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 50.4; 51.3-4, 14; 53.6, 8. Cf. also ah, i,  
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   43.6, 16; 44.6, 11; 45.4; 46.16; 48.11;  
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   ārmaitī 33.12, 13\*; 43.1, 10; 47.1; 48.5.  
   ārmatōiš 44.10; 45.10; 46.12; 47.2, 6;  
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   āzūtōiš 29.7.  
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<sup>2</sup>usōn (loc.) 45.9.

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   huš.haxāim 46.13.  
<sup>1</sup>hyaṭ. cf. yā.  
<sup>2</sup>hyaṭ (conj.) 29.2,5,8; 30.4,6<sup>2</sup>,9,11; 31.6.  
   8-9,11<sup>3</sup>,14; 32.5,14,16; 34.8; 43.4<sup>2</sup>,5<sup>2</sup>,7,  
   8<sup>2</sup>,9-10,11<sup>2</sup>,13,15; 44.15; 46.6-7,11-12,  
   15; 47.3; 49.9; 50.5; 51.8,12<sup>2</sup>.

- hyaṭcā 28.2; 30.11; 32.14; 33.1; 43.12;  
 44.17; 46.2. cf. also yācā.  
 hyaṭciṭ 30.1.  
 hvaṇhaviṃ 53.1.  
<sup>1</sup>hvarā- 32.10.  
   x'āng 44.3; 50.10.  
<sup>2</sup>hvarā 50.2.  
 hvarštāiš 49.4.  
 hvāpā 44.5<sup>2</sup>.  
 hvō 29.3.4<sup>2</sup>.7-9; 31.7.16<sup>2</sup>.22<sup>2</sup>; 32.9-10;  
 33.3.6; 43.3.16; 44.2.12<sup>2</sup>; 46.4.6<sup>3</sup>.9.13-  
 14; 47.2; 48.4; 49.5; 51.8.10.19.21;  
 53.8.  
 iām 29.7; 31.20; 33.9; 34.7.13; 43.13;  
 44.19; 45.8-10; 46.4.6.13; 51.21; 53.7.  
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 44.1-17.18<sup>2</sup>.19<sup>2</sup>; 46.2.5.18; 49.7-8.10;  
 51.1.15<sup>\*</sup>.18<sup>2</sup>.19-20; 53.5.9.  
 iā 31.7<sup>2</sup>; 32.5; 33.6; 43.4; 45.11; 47.5-6;  
 49.3; 51.5.10.12-13.  
 hāi 29.8-9; 31.6.20-21; 33.1; 43.8;  
 44.16; 45.4.8.10<sup>2</sup>.11; 46.13; 48.7.9;  
 50.3; 51.6<sup>2</sup>.12.17; 53.1<sup>2</sup>.2.5.6<sup>\*</sup>.  
 iā (du.) 30.3-4.  
 iōi 30.9; 32.15; 33.2; 34.7; 43.15;  
 48.12<sup>2</sup>; 49.4; 53.9.  
 iāē- 32.11.  
 iāng 32.1; 44.11.13; 46.4<sup>2</sup>.14; 50.2.  
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 iā 30.1.11; 31.1.5.13-14; 32.4.9; 33.8;  
 13; 34.10.15; 44.3.6; 45.7; 46.9.19;  
 51.2.  
 iāiš 30.11; 32.6; 34.8.11; 43.14; 44.7;  
 46.10.15-16; 49.5; 50.9.  
 hā 32.2; 47.6; 48.2.6<sup>2</sup>.  
 iām 28.7; 44.10; 46.7; 48.5; 49.6;  
 51.16.18; 53.4<sup>\*</sup>.  
 hōi 29.2; 47.3.  
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Alphabetical order follows Bartholomae, except that I place *ōi* after *aē* since they derive from the same source. I treat *āi* and *āu*, when real, as if *\*āy* and *\*āv*. Non-metrical *ə* is not counted alphabetically.

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